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DOCTORS AFTER THE WAR

by Edward Earle Starr

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

GERALD L. K. SMITH'S recent press conference in New York was like a mediocre vaudeville act. Everything happened on cue and the comedy was straight corn. Mr. Smith, personally, is not urging anybody to do anything about the coming election, but he can't help it if a meeting of America Firsters lately decided 400 to 0 to support Dewey in New York State, where Smith is not on the ballot as a candidate. (He is in several other states.)

Few reporters showed up at the Pennsylvania Hotel the other day; the gathering had an intimate atmosphere. Smith made a complete entrance a few minutes late. It was the first time I had ever seen him, and in my mind's ear I heard drums rolling offstage. He is a powerfully built man, on the paunchy side, but there is a great deal about him to command an audience. Following shortly came Mr. George Vose, in the uniform of the US Army. He sat at Mr. Smith's right, folded his arms stolidly, and stared at the wall. I was uncomfortably reminded of a storm-trooper, and learned later that he is accompanying Smith on a nationwide tour, has been recently mustered out of the Ft. Custer Hospital at Battle Creek, Mich., and intends to organize 1,000 local units of the Nationalist War Veterans of World War II.

For about half an hour Mr. Smith expanded on domestic affairs—accent on nationalism. Of course, he pointed out suavely, electing Dewey was really not so important as getting a nationalist Congress into office. He knew, for example, from having talked to our law-makers recently, that not more than twenty supported the New York *Herald Tribune's* foreign policy. Asked to name the Congressmen with whom he had had intimate chats, he declined with gentlemanly courtesy, saying only that among them were those "old, flea-bitten, battle-scarred veterans sent to concentration camps by NEW MASSES, the New York *Post*, and Walter Winchell." He carried his discretion even further—he admitted to being approached for America First support by the high command of the Republican strategists, but refused to remember who they were. "I went to school with the best politician of the century—Huey Long. I never knew him to break a pledge," he said.

Dewey's chances are about fifty-fifty, Smith thinks. Of course, he pointed out, it takes fanatical zeal to win an election and he feels that America First might supply such zeal at the present time, although he seemed a little foggy as to whether or not the Republican Party would be "embarrassed" by the support of his group.

One very important thing on Mr. Smith's mind was his and America First's stand on anti-Semitism. Only "agents provocateur" were stirring up the "Jewish question," he announced, beginning a hysterical denunciation of John Roy Carlson, author of *Under Cover*. Between Smith's gestures and shouting, the details were rather confused, but they began to form the pattern of a story about a somewhat lengthy personal encounter and dispute with Mr. Carlson. Whatever it was supposed to prove, the anecdote had almost reached its climax when the door opened and a slender young man walked in. Smith was a little annoyed, but had made it a practice to glad-hand the press (all sections of it) and now he stopped for a brilliant smile and a "how do you do." The late-comer took a seat on the window ledge and waited for the end of a sentence. "Remember me, Mr. Smith?" he asked. "No," answered the politician, staring at him, "I don't believe I do." "I'm Carlson," said the young man.

Mr. Smith turned the color of a side-cut of beef, took three steps across the room and bounced Mr. Carlson, shouting several effective epithets. Mrs. Smith (who acts as her husband's secretary) added a few general remarks—the implication was plain that they considered the late visitor a bum. Carlson, around the corner in the hotel corridor, got in the punch line: "Gerald L. K. Smith," he shouted, "you are a faker."

After this Smith did not even pretend poise. His blood pressure increased with his room-pacing as he continued his tirade on the "Jewish question." There was such a question, he admitted, but he did not know how to solve it. This he did know—it was kept alive by certain "alarmists" who frightened the Jews in this country by keeping always before them what happened to Europe (among such "alarmist" groups he mentioned the Friends of Democracy and the Anti-Nazi Defamation League). If he personally did not approve of anti-Semitism, did he feel that the defendants in the present sedition trial in Washington had anything to be said in their behalf? Eugene Sanctuary, for instance? He did. So far as he is concerned, the federal government is conducting a "Moscow trial."

AMERICA FIRST'S election platform is clear—adopted a month ago, it contains some of the most flagrant anti-Semitism, Jim Crow, and Red-baiting ever assembled in one document. And Smith is an agile demagogue. He has learned to hang by his words with tenacity, if not grace. There were men like him before, in other countries, and their showmanship paid dividends, for a while.

M. DE A.

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ESTABLISHED 1911

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NEW MASSES

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DOCTORS AFTER THE WAR

By EDWARD EARLE STARR

IN ATTEMPTING to evaluate the outlook of the physician in the postwar period, it is first necessary to consider in some detail the background and social origins of the members of the profession.

To begin with, it is important to bear in mind that the average medical man is much less thoroughly acquainted with the workings of the social order than the average lawyer, writer, or many other categories of professional workers of the same intellectual level.

The physician may witness daily the ravages of tuberculosis, which he is well aware wreaks its greatest havoc among members of the working class. Nevertheless, the performance of his technical role as a practitioner of medicine does not demand an understanding of the social forces which may have contributed to the patient's physical or psychological disease. Although the more intelligent physician will be able to interpret the patient's reactions to his position in society, he may be abysmally ignorant of the social and economic factors which have created the patient's social setting. This intellectual gap is a serious obstacle to the acquisition of a consciously progressive viewpoint.

Efforts have been made to stimulate interest in the social aspects of medicine by the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, Inc., the Physicians Forum, and the Association of Internes and Medical Students, but the process of education has been a gradual one, and has borne most fruit among the younger men. In the postwar period one may anticipate that these organizations will enjoy an increased influence, since they will be in a position to offer constructive suggestions for the solution of the problems which will arise. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to expect that educational work alone is likely to effect a renaissance in the social thinking of the medical profession in view of its present composition.

The most important single factor determining the general orientation of the medical profession is the fact that its members derive chiefly from the top strata of the economic fabric. The mere cost of a medical education, entailing as it does the most prolonged and expensive training of any of the large professions, is sufficient to place it beyond the reach of the broad masses of the people.

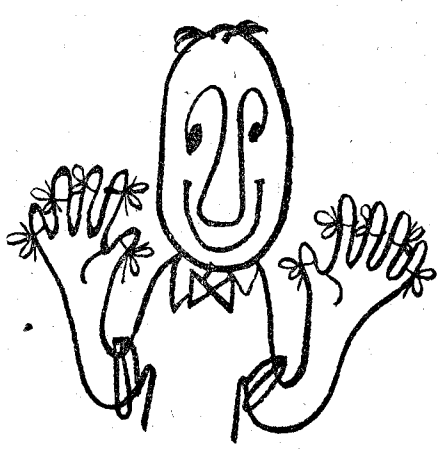
MOREOVER, entrance to the profession is strictly limited, based partly on the accepted policy of preventing "overcrowding" such as exists in the legal profession. Even before the war brought an enormously increased demand for doctors there was an insufficient number to cope with the nation's health needs. However, the number was ideal for the maximal economic exploitation of the present fee-for-service system; the "supply" of doctors has never exceeded the "demand" as represented by collectable fees although it has been inadequate to meet the demand in terms of human needs.

The maintenance of this medical economy of scarcity has meant that only a small fraction of the academically qualified applicants, even of those from the higher income groups, are admitted to medical schools. The criteria of committees on admission are notoriously capricious, but in general they exhibit an extraordinary degree of "social exclusiveness" with pronounced anti-Semitic and anti-Negro discrimination. In addition, a marked preference is shown for the offspring of members of the profession. These factors have tended to make the profession an ultra-conservative, highly inbred, self-perpetuating guild.

The recently instituted training programs of the Army and Navy defray all expenses of a medical education, thus potentially opening the field for the first time to the lower income groups. The possibility that the criteria of selection of medical students may be liberalized by the armed forces has already evoked comments of pious horror on the part of medical school deans lest "inferior" students be admitted.

However, unless a genuinely democratic system is established and is continued in the postwar period one cannot expect any sweeping changes in the composition of the profession. The 7,000 graduated every nine months during wartime constitutes a proportionately small addition to the total ranks of approximately 150,000 doctors.

Have You Registered Yourself?



WITH the foregoing concepts of the physician's background in mind we may turn to the problems he will confront in the postwar period and how he will react to them.

It is necessary to draw a distinction between the 50,000 generally younger doctors in the armed forces and the 100,000 doctors remaining on the home front, and to consider these groups separately. During the war the doctors caring for the civilian populace will in most cases have acquired a greater number of patients than they have ever treated before, and will have reaped proportionate financial benefits. When the war ends and the influx of a large group of returning practitioners leads to a gradual redistribution of patients, the practitioner on the home front will generally not be averse to relinquishing a part of his abnormally expanded practice. The opportunity to slacken the exceptionally heavy schedule imposed by wartime needs will be welcomed. For reasons which will emerge presently the extent and compo-

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sition of the eventual peacetime practice of the physician who has remained at home will be largely of his own determination.

Thus the war will have gained for him a financial windfall and will have left him in a very favorable position. In general, the physician who finds himself in this situation will be an ardent advocate of the existing inequitable system of distribution of medical care. As is usually the case, his conservatism with respect to his own sphere of activity will often tend to carry over to the broader issues of the day. Consequently, no progressive tendency of significant proportions is to be looked for in this group.

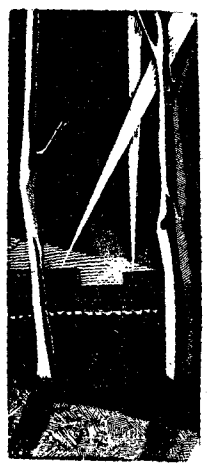
Now let us consider the 50,000 doctors who will have served with the armed forces. This group may be further subdivided into those who have left an established practice and those who have not gone beyond the stage of training as hospital internes.

The former group will return to find their practice redistributed among other doctors, and hence more or less effectively wiped out. This redistribution will be most thorough in the larger urban centers, particularly where the requirements of war industry have encouraged major population shifts. The building up and maintenance of a practice under the existing conditions depends to a certain degree upon a sense of continuity on the part of patients, which is in some respects akin to simple inertia. The feeling that "Dr. So-and-So knows my case" is responsible for the tendency of patients to consult the same physician through the years about different unrelated illnesses which he may not be equally competent to treat.

Faced with the prospect of having to start more or less from the beginning, this group will have less of a stake in the perpetuation of the *status quo* in medical practice. Other things being equal, they are apt to be less inimical to such progressive legislation as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, and hence to progressivism in general, than the doctors who have remained on the home front.

IN REESTABLISHING practice these men may prefer to associate with other physicians in cooperative groups. The individual practice of medicine is an outmoded system which is incompatible with the fullest application of the methods of modern medical science. In any large-scale reallocation of medical personnel such as the demobilization of the medical corps will bring, there is certain to be an emphasis on group medical practice, whatever the social views of the participants. Not only will there be sharing of expensive equipment, but there will be provision for freer access to important technical and laboratory facilities. By appropriate division of labor, greater opportunities will be afforded for the development of specialized skills among the different members of the group. The constant association of physicians will provide the valuable intellectual stimulus of sharing clinical experience. This major reorganization, should it be accomplished, will be of vast benefit to doctors and patients alike.

The net effect of these changes will be to promote a greater willingness to innovate—a greater receptivity to new ideas.



Larkin

A special problem will confront the men returning from the armed forces who still require additional hospital training before they are fully prepared to engage in medical practice.

The role of the medical officer differs from that of many other professional groups in that he serves in his professional capacity, whereas the lawyer, for example, ordinarily abandons his civilian occupation. The experience gained by the medical officer in the line of duty is certainly considerable, but its direct applicability to the problems of peacetime practice is in many instances rather limited.

The traumatic surgical cases which he has seen will be of little aid to the future cardiologist. On the other hand, the man trained in aviation medicine will find himself in an expanding field in the postwar period, and will be well prepared to participate in it. A certain number of doctors will want to stay in the Army as a permanent career; others may remain abroad for a few years to deal with the health problems of areas devastated by war.

However, there will be a sizable group of young doctors, presumably 20,000 or more, returning to seek further hospital training. According to the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association, pre-war hospital facilities provided a maximum of about 8,000 internships and about 6,000 assistant residencies, residencies, and fellowships. As of Jan. 1, 1944, roughly one-third of the positions in the former category were vacant, and something under one-half the positions in the latter.

The hospitals will benefit greatly by being able to acquire full staffs once again, but will soon find themselves facing a situation quite the reverse from the wartime shortage.

Under the current program of the Procurement and Assignment Service the majority of the 7,000 doctors in each graduating class enter the armed forces after only nine months of internship. Consequently, there is a growing number, estimated at over 20,000 already, who will require hospital training after the war. The vacancies which appear so extensive at present will accommodate only a small fraction of the postwar applicants. The problem will be especially troublesome with respect to the demand for openings in the teaching hospitals connected with medical schools.

The individual hospitals will certainly do all in their power to create more positions, but this will scarcely suffice. As the number of internes is increased appreciably above the usual figure, each interne sees proportionately less clinical material, and hence derives less benefit from his hospital training. Therefore the hospital interneship system as it is constituted at the present time will not have sufficient flexibility to meet postwar educational needs.

The younger medical officers are in many instances well aware of this problem which they will confront. They have at least a vague feeling that something must be done about the situation which will obtain, and many feel that it must be done by a centralized agency of some sort which can act on a national scale.

This very problem as well as some broader questions of postwar medical care have received the serious attention of the progressive Physicians Forum which has formulated some valuable suggestions to meet the needs of physicians returning from the armed forces, especially the group requiring postgraduate training.

The program of the Physicians Forum is embodied in a memorandum presented to Senator Pepper's Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education. This memorandum advocates federal subsidies for construction of needed hospitals, dispensaries, and health centers equipped with the most modern facilities. The memorandum recommends that close contact be established between such

(*Continued on page 22*)

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Is Truth an Advertising Product?

A HIGH-POWERED advertising man, one of our constant readers, came into the office the other day. He volunteered to give us a hand on our campaign for subscriptions. "Your magazine is so important," he said, "I would like to see it in the hands of every American." It would, he felt, give them the answers to all their questions in this most crucial of all elections.

Fine, we said. And we sat him down to work.

"Well," he said, "how would we best describe NM?" He wanted it done in a way that would, to be inelegant, sock the reader in the eye.

That provoked something of a discussion which amounted to this: our job has to do with truth. Is that provoking? Does that "sock you in the eye?"

The advertising man shook his head uncertainly: "I don't know," he said. "Truth is your product. But can you base an advertising campaign on it?"

I don't know either. But it is our product. And we'll see whether you, our reader, can raise a magazine's circulation by advertising "truth."

Here is what our advertising man wrote:

NM has been called many things by many people.

Many fine things.

And as is only natural in the case of a fighting magazine, many ugly things as well.

We were looking through the fine ones, in the course of getting up an ad for subscriptions to NM that would tell what makes NM different from other magazines.

Theodore Dreiser calls us "honest" and "the most important magazine in America."

To Paul Robeson we are "indispensable."

Staff Sergeant R. K. writing from "the jungles of New Guinea" says NM comes to him "like a drink of water in the burning sun."

We constantly get letters like that of Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, expressing thanks for articles that "are a clear presentation of the problems of white collar and professional workers."

(At this point Lottie Gordon, our business manager, came in. She thought it would be a good idea to spotlight, for all concerned, what we stand for by publishing the statement of NM's purposes that appears in the magazine's incorporation papers. Here's that statement:

(a) To help clarify domestic and international affairs and problems for the people of the United States and of other countries.

(b) To further the causes of democracy, justice, good government and freedom in the United States and throughout the world.

(c) To aid in the expansion of knowledge and a better understanding of public affairs, literature and the arts and sciences among the people of the United States and of other countries. . . .

For these reasons we have taken our stand on the issues in this critical election. That is why we campaign as we do for the reelection of President Roosevelt. That is why our advertising friend feels we ought to be in the hands of every man and woman of good will in this country. That is why we are starting this campaign for new subscribers.

We believe thousands of our readers will get us new subs for the sheer reward of spreading the truth. However, to spur everybody on, we are awarding prizes to our readers for getting new subscribers. And very elegant prizes, too! It's the same principle as incentive pay in the war plants. We refer you to the back cover.

Our goal is modest: 5,000 new subscribers by January 1. How does that sound to you?

Please let us know.

Yours,

Joseph North

Editor.

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CAN DEWEY WIN?

By A. B. MAGIL

THE four weeks which have passed since Governor Dewey made his opening speech in Philadelphia have helped introduce a sense of realism into the election campaign. This may seem a paradox in view of the fact that on the Republican side the campaign has been conducted on the plane of fantasy, or, to be more precise, phantasmagoria. Yet the joining of the battle has served to reveal the true proportions and meaning of the Dewey challenge and to dispell certain illusions as to how it can be met. For weeks prior to the formal opening of the campaign some of President Roosevelt's supporters were disposed to believe that the GOP platform was so patently stupid and reactionary and the candidate so incontestably third-rate that the President would win with ease—as the *Nation* headlined it in July: "It's in the Bag for FDR." As the campaign got under way, misgivings that arose were dismissed with the comforting thought that once Mr. Roosevelt began making speeches, the opposition would speedily dissolve. These cozy notions had the virtue of relieving everybody of the responsibility of doing anything about reelecting FDR—that is, everybody except the President himself.

To all but the congenitally lightminded it should now be clear that nothing is in the bag till the voters put it there, and that this campaign will have to be fought hard all the way by many thousands of alert and conscientious Americans. There is no record of an election having been won by the Gallup poll. And whatever one may think of the Gallup poll or of those of *Fortune* magazine and Crossley, none of them offers support to the theory that the Roosevelt forces can coast to victory. The President leads in all these polls, but his margin is not so wide that Dewey cannot overtake him. The mere fact that a Dewey victory *is not out of the question*, set in the world context of today, should give concern to all, irrespective of party, who read the times with a clear eye.

In the seven major addresses he made on his transcontinental tour Dewey revealed that he is an effective and formidable opponent: by effective I mean that he has shown himself capable of either favorably influencing or of confusing sections of the voters—and this is enough to make him formidable. There has been a good deal of jesting about Dewey's musclebound personality, his studied manner and the careful calculation that lies behind every move he makes. What cannot be laughed off, however, is that this is the best organized, most expertly planned Republican presidential campaign in history. The Landon and Willkie campaigns were crude improvisations compared to this one. Dewey has taken all his essential ideas from the Old Guard, but for the processing of those ideas and for the strategy and tactics of the campaign he has enlisted the services of younger men, technicians in supersalesmanship and administrative know-how.

THE strategy of the Dewey campaign has been two-pronged. The candidate himself, adapting his performance to the mood of the voters, has sought to give the impression that on the broad outlines of foreign and domestic policy his position is virtually identical with that of the Roosevelt administration. At the same time he has employed what might be called infiltration tactics to sow distrust and confusion on specific questions: the demobilization of the armed forces, postwar jobs, governmental controls, "bureaucracy," etc. The Republican standard-bearer in his part of the campaign, while doing nothing to alienate the regular Republican voters, including their "nationalist," pro-fascist sector, has aimed particularly at the independent voters, as well as at the Willkie Republicans (who might be tempted to vote for Roosevelt) and lukewarm Democrats (who might be induced to stay at home).

The other prong of the Republican drive has been represented by the speeches of Governor Bricker, the statements of GOP chairman Herbert Brownell, and the propaganda of the pro-Dewey press, especially the McCormick-Patterson, Hearst, and Scripps-Howard chains. Here the strategy is one of inciting the middle classes against labor, of politically dividing labor itself by inciting the AFL against the CIO, and of turning both these incitements against the candidate supported by the overwhelming majority of AFL, CIO and unorganized workers, President Roosevelt. The tactical means employed is the Berlin-patented Red scare, with a fine sprinkling of anti-Semitism to make it stick.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the strategy pursued by Dewey in the first six of his seven speeches scored among that substantial body of independent voters, estimated at about twenty percent of the electorate, who hold the balance of power. That his New Deal pose may have made its mark even among some Roosevelt supporters whose convictions and backbone are none too firm is indicated by James Wechsler's affectionate portrait in *PM* of Hoover's and Hearst's indispensable man. There can also be no doubt—and here I base myself on reports that have come to me—that Dewey's charge that the administration was planning to keep the men in the Army after the war because it was afraid of the social consequences of demobilization has made some dent both among servicemen and their families. Offhand one would say that this is not only the most fraudulent of Dewey's charges, but the most easily refutable. That it has been effective only confirms the shrewdness of Hitler's dictum that a big enough lie repeated often enough will get results.

It was not, however, until the last speech of his tour, made in his best prosecuting attorney manner in reply to President Roosevelt's suave tongue-lashing, that Dewey kindled the enthusiasm of his supporters. This has been popularly judged the most effective talk of his entire tour. But what most commentators have failed to observe is that in this speech the President forced Dewey to scuttle the carefully contrived strategy of his campaign. The New Deal mask was dropped and the GOP Lancelot strode forward in the panoply of the *anti-Komintern*. That this was no momentary slip was evident from the fact that in the brief rear platform talks which Dewey subsequently made on the return to Albany he continued to hammer away on the "Hillman-Browder" note. The cheers that greeted him, in contrast to the apathy of the crowds which had previously met his train, were the cheers of diehard Midwest Republicans—those whose favorite candidate for the GOP nomination had been Bricker. Whether the speaker is Dewey or Bricker or the lacquered Lady Luce, there will be no dearth of such cheers for those who clear everything with McCormick and Hearst.

Perhaps Dewey's best friends will tell

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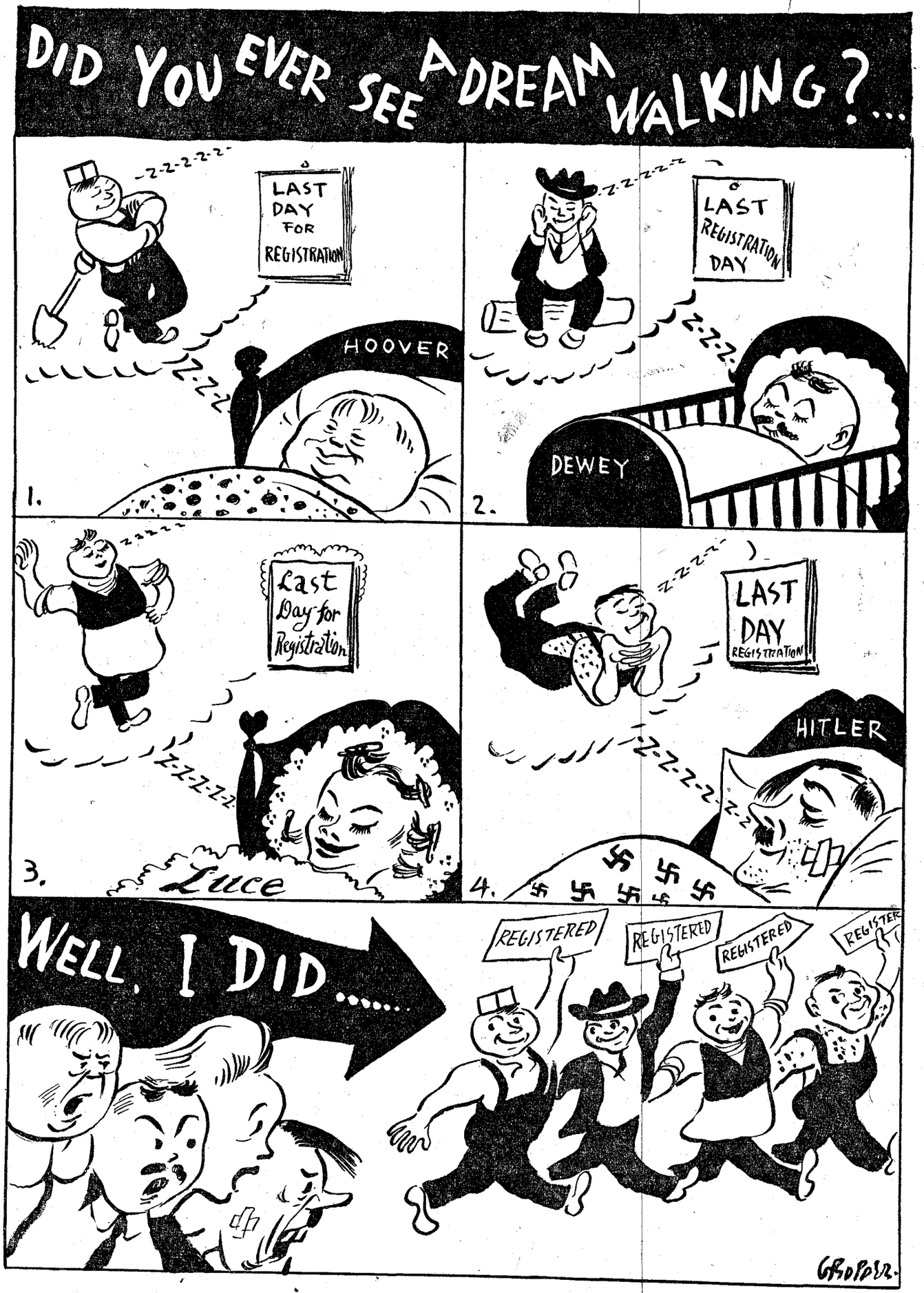

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him that his new strategy has come rather late on the stage of history and he may decide—after consulting the public opinion polls—to return to his former "New Dealism." There is no doubt that the virus of anti-Communism still infects certain sections of our population and is still capable of doing much harm, but if in 1936 the Red bogey was powerless to prevent the independent voters from turning to Roosevelt in droves, what can it hope to accomplish in 1944?

This attempt to make "Communism" a leading campaign issue only confirms President Roosevelt's charge that the opposition has "imported the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad." When the candidate of the smearbund calls this charge mud-slinging, he cannot by that fact wipe off the mud that clings to him by virtue of his own associations. Were Mr. Roosevelt to refrain from saying a single word in the campaign, it would not alter the political meaning of the support being given Dewey by Colonel McCormick, Hearst, Gerald L. K. Smith, Elizabeth Dilling, Joe McWilliams, and their like. And the "Hillman-Browder" campaign is testimony that however much the GOP nominee may find it expedient to cut this gang in public, their *ideas*, their *aims*, their *approach to the problems of the future* have been taken to the bosom of the Republican high command.

Candidate Dewey has sought to pass off misstatement for statesmanship and a genius for mediocrity for the creative leadership that the world crisis demands. Unfortunately, the political meaning of the Dewey candidacy seems to have been lost on many of the representatives of American big business. They are still fighting the battles of 1936 and 1940 and are allowing shadows out of the past to obscure their appreciation of where their own interest lies. The Roosevelt policy, based on the Teheran concord and envisaging high production levels and the farflung expansion of international trade, is the only viable policy for American capitalism. Yet many of the supporters of this policy in the ranks of big business seem to have persuaded themselves—not without some difficulty, it is true—that the candidate of Hoover and McCormick also stands for the fundamentals of that policy. The lack of confidence in Dewey which nevertheless exists in business circles is reflected in the recent survey by *Editor and Publisher* of the way the press is lining up in this election. While the support for Roosevelt

has increased only slightly over 1940—20.6 percent of the papers as against 20.1 percent four years ago—the number backing the Republican candidate has declined from 66.3 percent to 57.9 percent, while those that are neutral have jumped from 13.5 percent to 21.5 percent. Among these neutrals are such large and influential papers as the New York *Times* (which is leaning toward Roosevelt), the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, the Milwaukee *Journal*, the Detroit *Free Press*, and the Detroit *News*, all of whom supported Willkie in 1940.

The spurious unity established in the Republican Party by the capitulation of practically all the leading progressives with the exception of Wendell Willkie has also begun to show fissures. Senator Ball's announcement that he cannot on the basis of Dewey's statements on foreign policy campaign for him and his previous suggestion that eight of the ten Republican Senators seeking reelection should be defeated is only the external manifestation of a cleavage that runs deep in the Republican Party. A nonpartisan approach to all honest, forward-looking Republicans can undoubtedly cause many of them to join such well known Republicans as former Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, Bartley Crum of California, and Dr. Channing Tobias of New York, in supporting the President.

Three additional positive developments are worth noting. The hopes placed by the GOP strategists on immobilizing the majority of the AFL have been proved ill-founded. Despite frequent discouragement from on high and the anti-CIO Red-baiting of the AFL publicity chief, Philip Pearl, unions in all parts of the country have been increasingly swinging into the campaign for the fourth term. In some communities they are actually doing a better job than the CIO. The efforts of the Republicans to win the Negro vote away from FDR seem also doomed to disappointment. Immediately after the Democratic convention the Negro press reflected considerable confusion over the failure to nominate Henry Wallace for the Vice Presidency. But in recent weeks the Negro people have been recovering their former clarity—one straw in the wind is the eighty-three percent vote for FDR shown in a poll among Negroes in Philadelphia conducted by the *Bulletin*. A third group on whom the GOP set particularly high hopes, the Americans of Polish origin or descent, are likewise not seducing easily. A poll conducted among the large Polish population of Detroit shows the trend four to one for FDR.

Yet all of these factors, while they give cause for optimism, cannot by themselves assure victory on November 7. More than in any other presidential election the key to its outcome lies in registration. In 1940 some 50,000,000 voters went to the polls, but by 1942 this had fallen off by nearly half to 28,000,000. The recent state primaries showed further sharp declines, with the Democrats suffering the heaviest losses. This year, unlike 1940, there are two major groups that will find difficulty in registering and voting: the nearly 8,000,000 male citizens of voting age in the armed services, and the more than 5,000,000 families of war migrants whose total vote is estimated at over 15,000,000.

All this helps Dewey. A recent Gallup poll showed that about seventy-five percent of the eligible civilian voters say they will definitely vote. Fifty-one percent of these say they will cast their ballots for Dewey and forty-nine percent for Roosevelt. About fifteen percent say they think they will vote, but are not certain. Of these fifty-six percent are for the President and forty-four percent for the Republican candidate. The other ten percent are either uncertain about voting or certain they won't. This group is divided sixty-five percent for the President and thirty-five percent for Dewey. From this poll it is evident that if the President is to win, his supporters must see to it that a decisive majority of the twenty-five percent who are not certain of voting do register and vote. Is there the understanding among the plain people of America that this is not a bout between the Champ and the Challenger at which the rest of us are spectators, but that this is a battle for our own future and our own way of life and must be won with our own sweat?

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MY VOTE—AND WHY

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

In order to promote discussion of the issues and candidates before the American people this November 7, NEW MASSES *invited a number of prominent citizens to participate in a symposium. The questions asked were: (1) Which candidate for President and Vice President are you supporting in this election? (2) What are your reasons for supporting this ticket?* NEW MASSES *published the first set of replies answering these questions last week. A number of additional replies follow.—The Editors.*

Frank Marshall Davis

Associated Negro Press

DURING the 1936 and 1940 campaigns, I wrote Republican publicity, at a fee, for Landon and Willkie. In 1944 I am personally supporting President Roosevelt in every way I know, and for free. This is not a partisan campaign, in the old sense. Republican and Democratic labels, as such, are secondary. For all practical purposes, the two parties are the Progressives, composed of both Republicans and Democrats who want to see the plain people of this world rule their planet in peace and goodwill, and the reactionaries, numbering both Democrats and Republicans, who want a return to imperialism, dollar rule, and exploitation of the masses. Progressives back Roosevelt and Truman; reactionaries support Dewey and Bricker.

A look at the opposition shows why every Negro ought to dash for the Roosevelt camp. Segregationists, Jew-baiters, labor haters, Negrophobes, isolationists, fascists, disciples of special privilege and die-hard industrialists are allied today against Roosevelt because of a common hate against the President and what his administration has accomplished despite their frenzied opposition. They fear his reelection may be a major factor in saving the world from future wars and curbing cartels, thus reducing profits; in extending democracy and social security to all segments of the American people, and in welding all of humanity into a world brotherhood, the logical goal of the Teheran agreement.

Each time I close my eyes and try to envision Little Boy Dewey with Churchill and Stalin at Teheran, or sitting with adult Allied leaders at the peace table, I get either a blank or a nightmare.

I do not contend that the present administration has been anywhere near perfect, but I do say that of those candidates seeking the presidency, Franklin Delano Roosevelt looms over them like the Welsh Giant over Tom Thumb.

As for Sen. Harry Truman, why all this sudden fuss over the vice presidential candidate? Truman has a reputation as a liberal, yet more has been said against him than against John Nance Garner of Texas, who was accepted along with Roosevelt by Negroes and everybody else when they voted overwhelmingly for the New Deal in 1932. Besides, Truman has the support of the CIO and of Vice President Wallace. That should be enough for anybody who understands the score.

Arthur M. Schlesinger

Professor of History, Harvard University

THERE is something to be said for change but not for short change. I am for the Roosevelt ticket and a progressive Congress in this election.

Philip Evergood

Artist

I AM voting for Franklin Delano Roosevelt because I am satisfied with his record of constructive works. His genius for meeting home and world emergencies will implant his name in the hearts of generations of Americans as one of our country's greatest sons. His three previous terms of office were served in one of the most chaotic periods of world history. In all his judgments, humanity, justice, and courage were his bywords. His stand was always alongside the *common man* and his concern for the under-privileged citizen and minority groups has made America a better place to live in. He has shown himself to be a man of broad vision and to possess a keen perception of true values. Proof of this lies in the fact that American culture has made its greatest strides for a century under his administration. He gave aid to the forgotten man—the artist, in the days of depression and the dividends paid to America were high.

I am going to vote for Roosevelt because I am satisfied with the way the war is being fought and won. The organizational ability of our leadership and of those with whom the great operational tasks now imminent have been entrusted by it, has been the greatest instrument in the coming victory of the three great Allied nations. Fascism is about to be exterminated in Europe. Heavy tasks of reconstruction and the winning of the peace are the immediate goals of democracy. America means democracy.

The future of the world depends on my choice and yours. No gambling on a trial horse though the coat is sleek, the gait is frisky and it possesses its share of wind. This time it has to be a sure bet. I am going to vote for Roosevelt.

Have you registered your family?

Mark Ethridge

Publisher, The Louisville Courier-Journal and The Louisville Times

THESE newspapers are supporting Roosevelt and Truman this year. I am enclosing a copy of a speech that I made in Oklahoma [before the Oklahoma State Democratic Convention] which will give you our reasons. [An excerpt follows.]

"Domestically, the Republican Party for the most of its life has been the instrument of big business, the exponent of *laissez faire*, the protector of the propertied. Internationally it has symbolized isolationism of imperialism

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rather than the good neighbor spirit, the spirit of mutual security. There is nothing in its present policy or in the roster of its candidates for the presidency to indicate that, having choked off its liberal movement, it is not again at the dead center of normalcy in domestic affairs and in an imperialistic mood internationally.

"That is not good enough. Anything short of taking our full place in world affairs is an invitation to another war. Anything short of recognition that what we are going through is in fact a counter-revolution against the tyrannies of authoritarianism and that the trend of the world when this war is over will be toward the greater emphasis upon the dignity of the individual—the trend to the left, if you care to call it that—will put us out of step with the peoples we have fought to save. Anything short of recognition that there is no turning back in our domestic affairs; that we cannot go back to 1914 or even to 1940, is the sheerest stupidity."

Arthur W. Moulton

Bishop of Utah

IT IS my intention to vote the Roosevelt-Truman ticket.

The Democratic Party is willing to cooperate with the world, and has the intellectual and idealistic understanding of our postwar problems.

Irving Fineman

Novelist

I AM going to vote for Roosevelt and Truman in the coming election. I am deeply disappointed that Roosevelt saw fit to drop Wallace, whom I hoped to see President some day—an event which would indicate to me that we are really on the road to lasting democratic progress in this country.

As it is, I am not yet sure.

I am sure now only that the election of Dewey and Bricker, with their campaign doubletalk hardly concealing the Republican hunger for a return to "normalcy," would mean not merely the certain loss of all the democratic progress we have made and hoped for, but the eventual emergence to power of the fascist forces in our midst. As a liberal and a Jew I know what I have to expect from such a regime.

When I say I am not sure of our continued progress under Roosevelt and Truman, I do not mean that I think Roosevelt is likely to forsake the progressive path he has followed. I mean merely that his jettisoning of Wallace for political expediency shows clearly how precarious our progress still is, how insecurely we are riding that road. It may be that by dropping Wallace now Roosevelt is making it possible for Wallace to run another day. If so, I fervently hope Roosevelt is as shrewdly right as Stalin was when he decided to make peace with Hitler until he was sure he could beat him. (I was deeply disappointed then, too.)

Despite our victories on the battlefields, these are still perilous times for the forces of democratic progress not only here, but all over the world. The defeat of Roosevelt by Dewey would as surely nullify our victory over Germany after this war as the defeat of Wilson by Harding did after the last one. We had better elect Roosevelt.

But for my part, I won't feel really satisfied or safe in my native land—or in the postwar world for that matter—until we can, without any political finagling, nominate and elect a man like Wallace.

Carey McWilliams

Lawyer and Author

I WILL vote for Roosevelt and Truman.

My reasons: I have no alternative.

Joseph Curran

President, National Maritime Union

FOR what goals have the merchant seamen been willing to risk their lives against Nazi submarines and planes? We want complete victory over fascism in the shortest possible time. We not only want to defeat fascism wherever it is, but to defeat reaction on the home front. We want the elimination of unfair discrimination and exploitation, a voice for labor in government, the right of all people to vote, earn a decent living, give their children a good education.

Our own welfare as seamen depends on the full utilization of the merchant ships in the postwar period. Not only does our employment depend on the expanded use of our fleet, but so does the economy of our country. Full production and maintaining the ships to carry our products abroad are inseparable.

We endorsed the Roosevelt and Truman ticket for these reasons. Roosevelt's program is established mutually with our allies, and is based upon cooperation with other nations to bring a just and durable world peace. We could not afford another Harding in the person of Hoover's little protege, Dewey.

Vida D. Scudder

Prof. Emeritus of English, Wellesley College

I SHALL vote, as usual, the Socialist ticket—if I have the chance. And I hear the usual refrain from friendly voices: "Why throw away your vote?" This year, the question doesn't torment me, for as every one says the Republican and Democratic platforms are as alike as two peas. Is my vote ever thrown away? Pressure from even a small group like the Socialist Party—smaller here alas than it once was—has influence in practical politics. It helped to give the right turn, which is of course the turn to the left, to the New Deal. My academic old mind wants something to endorse which possesses more coherence and penetration than is likely to be found in the befogged and bewildering area where the political game is played. At a word, I want to commit myself to a statement which directly and avowedly heads for Revolution. I am a Christian; and in view of a national and international situation ominous from either the political or the economic angle, I naturally seek a platform to endorse and a leadership to follow which will turn the world upside down.

I find the one in the steadfast courage and sane insight of Norman Thomas; I find the other in the current Socialist platform. Admirable platform; I acclaim it. It carries us far beyond the well-meaning opportunism of a New Deal or a Beveridge Report. It presents aims not so remote that they are in cloudland, nor so near that they obstruct the distance. I especially rejoice in its demand for consumer representation in government, in its welcome to the cooperative movement, in its fraternal mention of the Canadian CCF. I approve the repudiation of the Bureaucratic State which not so long ago satisfied much socialist thought and which has proved so suspiciously allied with fascism: "Democracy, not Bureaucracy" is a good watchword. Perceiving our present social order to be basically un-Christian, I am thankful for the frank demand for "profound social and economic reorganization." Revolution is in process whether we will or no; if only the United States would adopt this program, it might be, according to my favorite phrase from Burke, "a revolution by due course of law."

Yes, I shall go to the polls in a peaceful if not hopeful frame of mind.

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A PAIR OF QUESTING SENATORS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

SEN. JOHN A. DANAHER, Republican of Connecticut, has round and wide-open eyes, a round cherubic face, a slightly bald head and a look of perpetual surprise. Perhaps it is because he so much resembles Roland Young, who is very funny on the screen, that his features seem to have a Puckish quality which is quite out of character with the words that issue in such astounding quantity from his mobile mouth. You expect the features at any moment to crumple into a sudden smile like Young's, but it never quite materializes.

It is a real joy to watch Danaher in action. With his blandest look he will arise in the Senate when an important issue is pending and do more in ten minutes to confuse the issue than the usual team of reactionary Republicans and poll tax Democrats has been able to do in days. His footwork is exceedingly fast and he always maintains an aloof air toward his more blatantly defeatist team-mates. He takes pains every now and then to aver his interest in civil liberties—although he voted for the Kerr committee amendment, which sought to throw off the government payroll Goodwin Watson, William E. Dodd, Robert Morss Lovett. He is at his best when he takes an impartial, nonpartisan attitude favoring some bill just before he introduces an amendment bristling with technicalities and legalisms. This embroils the Senate for days while the bill is prevented from going to a vote.

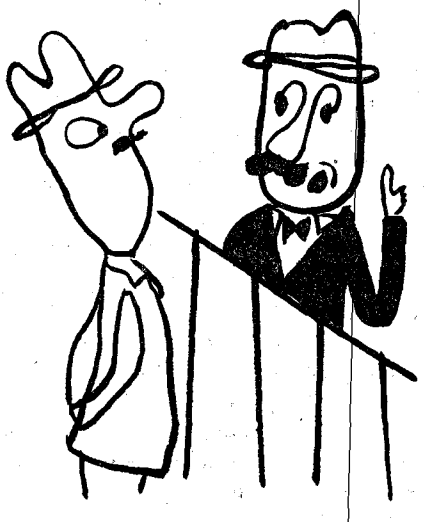
I had long had the idea that behind the Senator's amusing face and elaborately dull words there worked a Machiavellian brain which conceived amendments in order to have the laugh on the people who put him in Congress. But I was wrong. I asked the Senator, "Did you know that you are alluded to in Washington as the amendment-to-death guy?" The word "guy" was unfortunate, but after all I was just quoting an old acquaintance of the Senator's, one of the representatives of a union with a considerable membership in Connecticut. At any rate, the Senator did not bat an eye and seemed to give the matter his usual judicial attention. "No, I have never heard the phrase used," he said thoughtfully. "It is not my intention to do any more than to define."

He gave examples—for instance, his amendment to the Connally resolution on postwar Allied unity. To my uninitiated ear, as I leaned on a gallery rail listening to the Senator, it seemed a certainty that his amendment would have so loaded down the resolution with definitions as to make it completely meaningless. But Senator Danaher explained to me: "I introduced an amendment defining peace. What is peace? We have to know what we're talking about. The bill was causing a lot of confusion. I simply sought to highlight the vagueness of the bill and provoke discussion. It did get good discussion then and all but five Senators voted for it."

So you can see how easy it is to get the Senator wrong.

THE electorate of Connecticut is a combination of farmers, of workers, tremendously increased by war industry, of hidebound Republicans in such towns as Greenwich, New Canaan, and others within commuting distance of New York, and a number of Socialists around Bridgeport. Bridgeport's mayor, Jasper MacLevy, split the Democratic and independent vote in 1940, sending in as governor the Republican candidate. In 1942, the Socialist vote allowed Clare Luce to take a seat in the House, and the Socialists have announced they will put up a candidate this year, which means another three-way race. Opposing Danaher is Brien McMahon, former assistant US attorney general, who is not waging too vigorous a race. Meanwhile Danaher has won support from the Railroad Brotherhoods, and, like Mrs. Luce, is making a determined bid for labor support despite the opposition of the CIO's PAC. Danaher has balanced a careful vote on labor issues with a vote on taxes and subsidies which will please the most reactionary commuters and the most rock-ribbed native Republicans in Connecticut.

Have you registered your neighbor?



To figure out Danaher's stand on an issue being watched by his constituents is a fascinating business. Take the Smith-Connally bill. On May 5, 1943, the Senator made a radio speech which attacked certain features of the bill, particularly the authority to seize plants. On June 6 he made a speech explaining why as a conferee he did not sign the conference report. It was because of provisions for plant seizure and the lack of any provision for court review of WLB decisions. Many literal-minded union people had assumed that if a Senator wanted to fight the bill, which was a bad bill, he could have chosen other features to attack. But Danaher explained to me, with gestures, "I fought the bill. I fought the conference report. It hamstrung labor. I offered an amendment to give the WLB statutory meaning. I was against the Little Steel formula."

I managed to get a word in before he orated on the Little Steel formula, which Danaher doesn't like, any more than he likes sizable taxes on corporations. But, I asked, labor didn't want WLB decisions thrown into the courts, did it? He went on, fixing me with that round eye and ignoring my interruption. "If my amendment had gone through," he said, "Sewell Avery (head of Montgomery Ward & Co.) couldn't have defied those marshals, because they would have had a writ right in their pockets." This sounded vaguely familiar, and then I recalled hearing Avery testify before a House committee that since they didn't have a writ the seizure of his plant was illegal.

As an instance of the Senator's impartiality, he did vote against the bill,

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Thomason

but when the President's veto of the bill went before the Senate, "unfortunately I was not here."

DANAHER goes on record in favor of many progressive measures, but at times the groups they would benefit most have to urge him to desist from advocating them at the time or in the peculiar way he is advocating them. Certainly a permanent FEPC is to be desired. But the Senator from Connecticut chose a mighty peculiar time and way to advocate it. He introduced a legislative amendment to the appropriation bill. The poll taxers already were filibustering to delay action on appropriations for FEPC. The Republican convention was set to begin in a few days and Senators were itching to get away. Danaher's amendment would have given poll taxers a chance to filibuster on the additional grounds that it was legislation and had no relevancy to war agencies' appropriations. Labor and other groups most active in behalf of FEPC prevailed on him to withdraw it. When the vote on the bill itself came up June 20, Danaher was not there.

Danaher opposed a federal ballot for members of the armed forces. His amendment in this case would permit soldiers to vote by designating a proxy. He opposed an absentee ballot for the merchant marine forces, opposed and spoke against the Thomas bill to provide federal aid to education, and the increased appropriation for the Public Health Service which would have provided for a pool of doctors to aid communities suffering from a shortage of doctors.

But it is chiefly because of his foreign policy stand that Danaher is being opposed by many independent voters in Connecticut who are anxious to whittle down the isolationist group in the Senate. Last October he introduced a resolution expressing the Senate's gratitude to the globe-trotting Senators who visited the war fronts and returned to make speeches damaging the cause of allied war unity. The following month he inserted in the *Congressional Record* an article from the Baltimore *Sun* entitled "Yanks in Africa Shrug Off News of Moscow Agreement," the effect of which was to belittle the importance of the Moscow agreement.

The Senator told me he went into politics because "so much has got to be done for the people and you can't do it sitting on the sidelines." But when I asked him just what his attitude was on our foreign policy, he answered: "And what is Mr. Roosevelt's?" For a minute I thought he was going to smile, but if he had an impulse it petered out and he went on sonorously: "The American people don't know what has been agreed on. Is our policy to seek world expansion of trade? Mr. Roosevelt doesn't say." Questioned about Dumbarton Oaks, he said lugubriously, "I am unable to answer until I know what we get out of Dumbarton Oaks. Mr. Hull has promised to let us know, and my hope is he will let us know during the campaign in time for debate." He added modestly that he had had an active part in drafting the Republican platform, including the plank on foreign policy. This was the plank probably more celebrated than any other for its pious double talk.

"Then your amendments and your arguments which so often seem to split hairs are not designed to smother a bill or a cause, you say?" I asked the schizophrenic Mr. Danaher.

"No, quite the contrary," he said. "Lawsuits arise simply because of lack of definition. Ninety percent of all cases shouldn't even get into the courts," he said with the rising voice he applies to trivia, or at least extraneous matters, on occasion. I felt myself sailing off, as one does when Danaher begins speaking. Then I found myself asking, breaking in on a long recital, "But where do you get this passion for definition?"

I gathered from what he said that he got it at the Yale Law School, and that it jelled while he was assistant US Attorney. That is how he figured he could help the people—by defining things.

GEORGE D. AIKEN, the graying, gentle Senator from Vermont, who looks like a farmer and is one, has the united backing of the AFL, the CIO's PAC and the Railroad Brotherhoods in his state. In Vermont, he explains, labor works together. He is a Republican, and he has voted against the administration plenty of times (the *New Republic*

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listed nine right votes out of eighteen in 1943), but he is not subservient to the GOP high command, and he has a certain homespun liberalism about him. He is a rugged individualist, I guess, but one who has obtained full labor support and who does not go overboard about rugged individualists.

Speaking of the postwar world, Aiken said, "An expanded foreign trade is the biggest chance to increase the welfare of peoples over the world." He is interested in freedom of the air and seas, thinks ships and planes of all countries should be permitted to land in all countries, and likes cheap transportation generally, "because when we can visit all other countries we're apt to find plain human beings. It's possible we'll find they are just as smart as we are or maybe a little smarter. The more dependent people are on others, the more apt they are to settle problems in peaceful ways." The amount of exports by other countries will be determined by our willingness to buy, "and the real answer is the bringing up of living standards here and all over the world." He declared that he had information we had a surplus of 3,000,000 tons of food, "and nearly 2,000,000,000 people over the world are hungry. We will feed them if I have my way about it."

He recalled that in 1937 we had a "surplus" of milk, but that in war years, with full employment, we've had a shortage—just because many people had enough money to buy milk for the first time. "Farmers are not complaining now about the price of milk," he said. "But they're wondering if this full employment will last." In Aiken's eyes, it can. "I just insist that there is no need for a serious depression. I have no patience with defeatists. But we should plan to meet a depression if it comes. I was one who voted against the George amendment which eliminated the Kilgore reconversion bill. I would change some things in the Kilgore bill, but I agree we must have adequate unemployment compensation. More important, we must not go back to pre-war income levels but maintain a full economy. We will have to expend $30,000,000,000 for government, three times that of before the war, and anything less is crazy. But it is only by keeping our sights on a greatly increased foreign trade that we will have full employment."

He spoke of attending a recent get-together of some twenty-seven farmers and five or six labor leaders in his home state, who were concerned with postwar problems. "I never heard any more intelligent discussion than that. One old farmer put it most succinctly, though: 'I notice that when I can't get quite enough help, I make money, and when I can get help easy, I don't.'" Aiken's most significant contribution in the Senate was the introduction of his bill to develop the St. Lawrence waterway and his fight for it last year. He was opposed by group and local interests "whose idea was that the only way to improve their own lot was to take away from others." Aiken warned against just that in the postwar period.

Admittedly Aiken has a pre-1941 isolationist record, and he was a little too warm in his praise of Candidate Dewey's position on "alliance" to make this correspondent feel fully comfortable. However, he thinks the chances of real international collaboration "better than after the last war," he was moved by the motion picture on Woodrow Wilson's fight for the League of Nations, and he described himself as "always a progressive Republican," an ardent admirer of Wilson as a kid. He voted for the League.

Aiken was brought up on a Putney, Vt., hill farm, where he still lives—"I'm afraid Tugwell would call it submarginal"—and which he intends to work again eventually. There are a lot of stones on it. "I'm afraid we were always poor," he said. In 1912, when there was a split in the GOP, his father was persuaded to run for the state legislature on the Bull Moose ticket. "They were the rebels of those days," he says with evident satisfaction. "He won, and was elected four times. I guess I was a rebel by nature, too. When I came here it was not with the consent of either party organization. I never asked anyone his politics when I was governor. I made over the public service commission and the utility boys opposed me, and kept on opposing me up to this year. I don't know what the catch is that they aren't now." The Vermont Senator literally went to a little red school house on the hill and then traveled fourteen miles back and forth daily, five miles walking and the rest by train, to finish his last year of high school at Brattleboro. Maybe the importance of lunch was borne in on him often when he was traipsing that fourteen miles, because he is more responsible than any other man in Congress for restoring the school lunch program. Aiken is probably the outstanding man among a little group of Republicans who occasionally depart from their party's position. "Party lines are getting fainter," he says.

THE big drug houses, such as Parke Davis, Ely Lilley, Squibb and Lederle, already have a lobby in the field to see that surplus medical supplies are dumped in either the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean, in order not to deflate postwar prices on drugs here. Aside from the need for drugs by millions in India and elsewhere, there is the tragic shortage of medical facilities in this country highlighted by Senator Pepper's wartime health committee. If Pepper's proposals for low-cost clinics, community hospitals, and dispensaries in areas now suffering for lack of them, are carried out, they could use some of the surplus supplies.

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ONE reason for butterless shelves these days is that A. J. Burke, chief of Poultry and Eggs Price Division in OPA, has refused to put a ceiling on "fluid cream," sold in bulk to all commercial dealers. It is why OPA had to go up to twenty ration points for butter. When fluid cream comes to market, butter people have to bid against ice cream and cheese interests. There are limits to what each can buy but WFA is not enforcing them. And Mr. Burke was a vice president of Kraft Cheese.

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SOME of our Congressmen don't open their mouths year in and year out except to say "Yea" and "Nay." A prize example is James Wolfenden, Republican, of Pennsylvania. Zero Wolfenden's distinction is that in two years the "Congressional Record" shows he said nothing at all on thirteen issues. On war, defense, unity—no comment. On postwar aims, international collaboration, rehabilitation—none. Likewise on the Axis, the Allies, immigration, and refugees; labor, industry, agriculture, the armed forces, taxes, government agencies, inter-American affairs, and civil liberties. A fourth item read: "Other Opinions—no comment on record."

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WHAT GERMANY MUST PAY

By HANS BERGER

Mr. Berger's article was written before President Roosevelt in a letter to Foreign Economic Administrator Leo T. Crowley outlined major policies to be put into effect after Germany's defeat. Point Seven of the President's letter asks the FEA to accelerate both its studies and its work to see to it "that Germany does not become a menace again to succeeding generations." Obviously that goal involves the question of reparations, discussed below by Mr. Berger, as well as the problem of what to do with German industry—a matter over which there was considerable debate in the newspapers last week.—The Editors.

THE Germans will have to make good what they have stolen. They will have to restore not only the countries but everything that remains of what they have robbed and pillaged. Much of the loot will no longer be found in Germany but in those countries whose industrialists and financiers and whose banks and safe deposit vaults are the recipients of what the Germans have stolen. The United Nations will do well to search in Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Turkey, Argentina, and elsewhere (not to forget Japan), to track down all this loot. If they search well, they will make some astonishing discoveries. They will find individuals and firms of many nations who have made a profitable business from acting as receivers of stolen goods. They will not find all the children's shoes filched by bestial German soldiers in Soviet villages before or after the youngsters were slain. But a thorough search will reveal plenty of stocks and bonds, gold, jewelry, works of art, and foreign currencies.

To be sure, this forms but a small part of the reparations which the Germans will be in duty bound to make. The main question remains: to force the Germans to rebuild the destroyed provinces, cities, villages, houses, factories and plants, machines, and means of communication with German sweat, German labor, and—insofar as possible—with German materials.

Even when the Germans have rebuilt and replaced all that they have destroyed, they will be making good but a small share of the material war damages they have caused. There remain the expenditures for war purposes which the Allied nations have had to incur in defense against the German aggressors. In addition, there are pensions to the families of slain soldiers, to the wounded and disabled, and countless other expenses. But what is the sense of totaling this astronomic sum? The Germans are unable to bear the war expenditures of all the lands they have attacked, in addition to making reparation for all the destruction they have wrought.

Just add the war expenditures of the US, the USSR, and Great Britain: to saddle the Germans with such a claim for reparations would be fantastic. In fact, if the Germans were handed such a bill, the practical result would be that those countries hardest hit would be placed at a real disadvantage. The physical damage wrought by the Germans in the Soviet Union, in Poland, France, Yugoslavia, and the many other countries they have invaded are so great that it would take the entire German economy and labor force a very long time to make good even a substantial part of this damage.

Hence, in the matter of reparations, the United Nations will have to agree on a system of priorities, which will give precedence to those peoples whose towns and villages, factories, and houses have suffered most from the Germans. For example, it would be most unjust if we in the United States, who in comparison with the European nations have suffered least, should demand, say hypothetically $100,000,000 as reparations, instead of this sum or its equivalent being used in labor and goods to rebuild millions of destroyed houses, churches, schools, and factories in Europe.

The *total* German economy and the *total* German labor force must be put to work to make good what has been destroyed. It seems opportune to emphasize this fact, in view of possible developments. In his *Eighteenth Brumaire* Karl Marx wrote that after the 1848 Revolution in Paris all the millionaires became "Socialists." After Hitler's downfall, similarly, many German millionaires will become passionate Bavarians, Rhinelanders, sponsors or adherents of many other separatist movements, in order to avoid the consequences of the German defeat. They will be ready to entrust themselves and their country, bag and baggage, to the sovereignty of any state or to rush into the arms of any religious faith, so long as they can escape or minimize the consequences of defeat for their trusts, cartels, and banks. When Mr. Robert Murphy goes to Germany as adviser to General Eisenhower, he would do well to bear such possibilities in mind. Even their readiness to confess guilt should not exonerate the masters of German industry from the duty of making material reparations.

What, in the narrower sense of the term, will Germany have to pay as reparations? That, of course, is still unknown since no over-all estimates of the devastation caused by the Germans are as yet available. But such devastation undoubtedly amounts to hundreds of billions of dollars. The liberated peoples will not wait until all these damages are tallied and confirmed. The Germans will have to begin paying reparations—down payments, so to speak—as soon as they are beaten.

These payments can be made, for example, by taking over a definite part of German industry, machinery, means of transport, and the like. This has nothing to do with the demand, raised in some quarters, for the deindustrialization of Germany or the destruction of German industry. It only means that German factory installations, generators, machine-tools, lathes, etc. will have to be handed over to other peoples as replacements for what the Germans have destroyed. But they will not thereby be prevented from replacing these in turn by their own labor.

But after the destruction of Hitlerism, will the Germany that emerges—undoubtedly destroyed in part—be able to make large-scale reparations? No one, of course, knows at the moment how great the destruction in Germany will be by the time Hitler is finally crushed. At present the damage is incomparably smaller than, for example, in the USSR. But no matter how much this damage eventually amounts to, the Germans will have to reckon with systematic reparations in their reconstruction plans. It would be the height of injustice if the liberated peoples had to wait until the Germans completed their reconstruction before rebuilding their own ruined cities. Should the collective farmer Ivan have to wait for Fritz to rebuild his own house

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before his house, destroyed by Fritz, is rebuilt? Shall the Soviet, Yugoslavian, Polish, and Czechoslovak workers have to work fourteen hours a day, to make good only a part of the damage done, because Karl and Johann, who caused this damage, have no time to make reparations since they want to put their own house in order?

No matter what Germany looks like after the victory over Hitlerism, a definite share of German production and labor power will have to be allocated immediately to repairing the devastation wrought by Germans. In the years 1933-39, the Nazi regime spent 90,000,000,000 gold marks—about $40,000,000,000—on armaments. At least one-third of Germany's annual national income went into armaments. Even if there is great destruction in Germany, and assuming that the lot of the workers is improved compared with their conditions under the Hitler regime, it is not unrealistic to figure that in the next six or seven years the Germans will be able to pay in reparations a *minimum* of $20,000,000,000 or its equivalent.

The Germans will be able to pay their reparations not with gold but above all by delivering goods and by making labor power available. For instance, it would be quite feasible to make them deliver every year a fixed amount of capital goods and consumers goods to those countries to which they owe reparations. Thus, the Germans could be called upon to deliver each year a fixed quota of machines, generators, metals, coal, chemical products, etc. to the USSR, Poland, or France. In some countries this may create certain difficulties, since private industry may look upon such deliveries as competition. It will be recalled that after World War I the British coal industry protested against German deliveries of coal to France as reparations payments. Such a difficulty does not, of course, exist for the Soviet Union, nor should it arise for a number of other European nations which will organize their economies according to new principles and in which the extent of damage is so great that they will not be able to take into consideration the special interests of certain business circles.

In certain quarters voices have been raised in protest against the use of German labor for reconstruction purposes in the devastated lands; such a move has been labeled slave labor. At the present moment, it is impossible to ascertain to what extent the nations involved will be prepared to utilize German labor power to rebuild their devastated areas.

"War Worker," crayon drawing by Elizabeth Catlett. Courtesy Artist Associates

After World War I, France refused the offer of the German Weimar Republic, an offer backed by the German trade-union movement, to use German workers to help rebuild the devastated areas of northern France.

But whatever the nations concerned decide to do, this has nothing to do with slave labor. The wages, working and living conditions of German workers sent to other countries will be settled by intergovernmental agreement, with the help of the trade union movements; the same will be true of allowances to their families left behind. The wages and labor of these workers would be paid by the future German government on its reparations bill.

But what about the captured Nazis? What of the tens of thousands of Nazis who will undoubtedly have to be kept in German prisons and concentration camps, or who will be separated from the bulk of the German prisoners of war and not allowed to return to Germany? We mean that great mass of Nazis, whose crimes are not big enough to have them executed, but who, left in freedom, would represent a standing menace. Such Nazis could be used to do forced labor without violating any humane principles. In almost every country there are rules governing forced labor for criminals; these Nazis certainly fall into that category, and can be treated accordingly. In the Soviet Union criminals working at forced labor have had a chance to rehabilitate themselves if they were capable of doing so. Thus, many of them succeeded in rehabilitating themselves in the construction of the White Sea Canal. Then why should it be inhuman to make those Nazis who are not executed expiate their criminal acts at least by hard labor?

Pseudo-socialists and liberals may protest and warn that "too harsh demands for reparations" made on Germany will only serve "to prepare for World War III." But that is nonsense. The German imperialists will prepare for World War III, to the utmost of

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their abilities, whether Germany pays reparations or not. The fact that the German imperialists have lost this war is reason enough for them to try again. The German imperialists began this war, although the Versailles Treaty was already liquidated. They attacked the Soviet Union, although she had nothing to do with the Versailles Treaty. They declared war on the US although it never signed the Versailles Treaty. And they will again use their far-reaching economic power to educate the German masses in the spirit of German imperialism, filling them anew with hatred of other peoples.

The German imperialists will never recognize that they were the guilty parties in this war, and that Germany is morally bound to make reparations. The logical conclusion, therefore, is not that the United Nations should renounce reparations but that they must destroy the power of the main forces of German imperialism and make it impossible for them to keep the German people in a state of barbarism.

The behavior of the Germans in the future toward the reparations they are in duty bound to pay will be the measuring-rod of how much the Germans have broken with Nazism and their reactionary traditions. The extent to which they are ready, even eager, to make good the damage, will show how far the Germans have come in understanding their terrible responsibility and their historic guilt.

But without that there will be no regeneration of the German nation. Without it, there will only be a German nation again ready, at the behest of some future adventurer and under ostensibly favorable circumstances, to plunge into new adventures, to stage new aggressions against other peoples. Only a German nation that recognizes its moral duty to make good what it has destroyed and proves it at the cost of long hard work, offers any guarantees for a fundamental and lasting change in the Germans. The German people cannot restore life to those they have murdered; but they can, by their collective effort to make good as quickly as possible the destruction they have visited on other peoples, prove that they have the will to become again members of the family of civilized nations.

Imagine if by some miracle the overwhelming majority of the German people, and especially the German workers, came to the full realization of what Germany has done to the world. Imagine if German workers again realized that they once formed the great German

labor movement admired by all the peoples of the world—the labor movement of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; and yet by their guilt, Germany perpetrated the most wanton acts of devastation and mass-murder in the first Socialist country on earth. Would not a fearful sense of shame pass through the ranks of the German people and the German workers—shame at their own horrible past, at their own weaknesses and barbarism? And would they not then make the firm resolve to make good what can possibly be made good, to cleanse their nation and their class of the guilt, to win back the esteem of other peoples? Would not such Germans, coming to their senses and realizing the enormity of their crimes, work day and night so that the world might finally say: yes, they behaved wantonly, but they are striving by deeds to mitigate their great guilt?

At this point the reader may accuse me of dreaming. But I believe I am not dreaming. *This is the only way—there is no other—which the Germans must take. Not only must they be forced to proceed along this path; they must walk it of their own will and out of their own sense of responsibility, in order to become a nation of human beings again.* It is along this path that the most progressive and most far-seeing leaders must lead the German people and it is in this spirit that they must be educated. But those who already are bringing forth all sorts of finespun arguments to persuade the German people that reparations—harsh and heavy reparations—mean "enslavement," are helping to keep the Germans on a level of barbarism. They help the German imperialists, the Nazis, and the reactionary German Social-Democrats to persuade the German people that they are not the slayers, but the slain.

Naturally, the United Nations cannot wait with their reparations demands until the Germans recognize their obligation to pay reparations. Just as the United Nations are dealing out military blows without waiting for a German revolution, so must they force the Germans to make good materially without waiting for the German awakening. But hand in hand with this imposition of reparations, the German people will have to be educated by the United Nations and by German anti-Nazis to recognize their moral duty.

The Germans can only ask one thing of the United Nations, and this would be in the interests of the latter: They can ask not to be forced to pay reparations to their own trusts, banks, big industrialists and landowners, instead of to the peoples they have harmed. After World War I, reparations worked out in such a way that in the name of Versailles, the magnates of finance and industry and the Junker landlords exploited the German people, rebuilding and reenforcing their economy while making other peoples responsible for their own exploitation. Indeed, it would be tragic if the German people had to pay a high price to the Krupps and the others who installed German Nazism in power, for every ton of steel delivered to Poland or the Soviet Union.

As a matter of fact, the Germans should be helped and encouraged to get rid of their imperialists once and for all. The German people will have to pay too much, and the United Nations will have to demand too much, to indulge in the luxury of making Germany's financiers, industrialists, and Junkers even richer and more powerful by dealing with reparations, as they did after World War I.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Cordial Associations

THERE was a stern note of sobriety in Mr. Churchill's speech in Parliament and with it there was also the note of elated pride over the achievements of the British forces and their Allied comrades. Beginning with the successful attacks on the Cherbourg Peninsula, Churchill swept across France to the Low countries and from there continued his verbal march to the Balkans and as far as India and the Pacific. This was oratorical globe-trotting on the grand Churchillian scale. And with every step he exuded confidence, but a confidence tempered with the knowledge that it is a delusion to expect the last blow with the next sunrise. He hoped victory would come in the immediate months but noted that it might take longer. The battle at Arnhem was a warning that the final phase would be hard, just as it was a warning to those who thought that the initial retreat of the Wehrmacht meant an amiable jaunt to Berlin for Eisenhower's men. The Prime Minister did not say so explicitly but his words were carefully directed against any relaxation of effort at home.

Again he pledged British resources in the Pacific fight without adding much to what he had already said at the close of the Quebec meeting. His attempt to give Mountbatten's Manipur operations a greater measure of credit than they have received was justifiable. But it was not entirely convincing in view of the fact that even greater resources and manpower would be available if only British policy were transformed to give India its proper place in the war.

The core of Mr. Churchill's address, especially as it applies to Europe, is to be found in the following: "The foreign situation has responded to military events. Never was the alliance against Germany of the three great powers more close or more effective." With this observation he could demonstrate how coordinated fighting on all European fronts has torn the satellites (excepting Hungary) away from Germany. Yet even with these successes on Allied books, it was necessary for the Prime Minister to state what is a matter of common knowledge. There are differences of opinion among the leaders of the coalition on several questions now before them. Mr. Churchill confined his description of these divergencies to the political sphere and said nothing of their economic aspects. But it is this latter which is sorely troubling British traders. London newspapers, for example, published the story that American businessmen were now appearing in France in army uniforms. It is of small importance whether these dispatches are correct or not, but they are symptomatic of the fear in England that the British are being outpaced in the rush for customers.

Whatever differences exist, Mr. Churchill emphasized that "at no time have these been allowed to affect in any way the majestic march of events in accordance with the agreements and decisions at Teheran." On Poland, he noted that London did not exactly see eye to eye with Moscow. He appreciated the Soviet position and in fact endorsed the need for territorial changes in the interest of the USSR's security. He praised Marshal Stalin's declaration for a strong and independent Poland and it was his hope that Premier Mikolajcyk would resume his conversations for a united Polish government. Unfortunately Mr. Churchill did not round out the picture. The fact is that sole responsibility for the failure thus far to reach an understanding with the Polish Liberation Committee in Lublin rests with the emigres in London. They have made proposals which no self-respecting group could accept and which are certainly not what the Poles on the Polish battlefields have been fighting for.

Churchill's most lyrical paragraphs were reserved for France. His words of tribute to the Maquis were fully consonant with the deeds which prepared the way for the Allied armies. His sympathy for France's desire to take her place among the leading powers was unmistakable. Mr. Churchill also hoped that the interim consultative assembly would now become an elected body broadly representative of the new France and the patriotic forces which helped liberate her. This would make possible the *de jure* recognition of the provisional government.

On the problems facing the leading Allies in forming an international security organization and those connected with the settlement of Germany, Mr. Churchill advised caution and steady progress rather than leaping ahead into nowhere. And as part of this steady progress to bring effective solutions as well as satisfactory agreements he urged that he, President Roosevelt, and Marshal Stalin meet before the end of the year. "The future of the whole world," he said, "and the general future of Europe, perhaps for several generations, depends upon the cordial, trustful, and comprehending associations of the British Empire, the United States, and Soviet Russia, and no pains must be spared and no patience grudged . . . to bring this supreme hope to fruition."

Have you helped canvass for registration?

Revising Beveridge

IT IS nearly two years ago that the famous Beveridge Plan of social security for the British people was announced. It was never carried forward to the legislative stage. Instead, the government set about formulating its own plan. Now, after twenty-one

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months of labor, it has brought forth a scheme which, while better than the Beveridge plan in some respects and worse in more, is regarded by labor circles as being simply an elaborate reshuffling of the original proposal. It nevertheless represents a great advance over existing legislation, and is to be welcomed for that reason.

The principal objections to the new plan—aside from the two years which have been wasted in reshuffling—are that in contrast to the Beveridge report it fails to provide for a scale of benefits rising with increased costs of living; it fails to accept the principle of compensation regardless of the period of unemployment; the rates are too low all around, and there is no commitment on the part of the government to put the plan into operation by a specified time.

Look Around You, John P. Lewis

JOHN P. LEWIS is the managing editor of *PM*, the New York daily that, generally, supports the President and the policies of the coalition around Mr. Roosevelt. For these reasons *PM* has frequently been Red-baited by the President's virulent enemies; unfortunately, whenever that has happened, *PM* has all too frequently sought to "lick" its enemies by "j'ining" them. When it did that in the past we regretted its lack of foresight and spine; when it does it now, its deed is even more perilous—for it strengthens the GOP strategists who labor strenuously to inject the issue of Communism as their principal device to split the supporters of the President, to avoid discussion of issues by substituting prejudice in their place.

Hence the astonishment with which most *PM* readers must have read Mr. Lewis' foolish, yet dangerous, attack on Earl Browder's Madison Square Garden speech last week. Mr. Browder warned America that the anti-Communist tenor of the GOP campaign has an old familiar and sinister ring to it: it awakens memories of that strategy through which Hitler rose to power: a strategy that has worked all too well in recent history, within the time of even Mr. Lewis' evidently dim memory. All Mr. Browder sought, in Mr. Lewis' two-by-four judgment, was "to make Communism . . . an issue" so that it "will take on trappings and influence of power that it doesn't have. . . ."

Though Mr. Lewis agreed with Mr. Browder that Communism is not the issue, Mr. Lewis, for reasons he can best explain, saw fit to omit any reference from his editorial to that portion of Mr. Browder's speech which recapitulated all the efforts the Communists had made to prevent the enemies of democracy from making Communism the issue: the dissolution of the party, its abstention from running its own candidates for office, etc., etc. Mr. Browder pointed out, as he has time and again throughout the years, that what happens to Communists in this country, should a Dewey-Hoover coalition come to power, is the least important of the consequences: it is what happens to America.

MR. LEWIS' newspaper stumps for world collaboration. How can its managing editor stupidly argue that a Dewey victory would not have much effect upon our relations with the Soviet Union, with those countries where Communists are part of the governmental coalitions—France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania? How can he argue that in the face of a campaign that contends Communists are untouchables, and that it is sinful to cooperate with them in public life? Mr. Lewis totally ignored the fact that the enemies of world collaboration, and of domestic unity, have been lustily waving the red-herring; from his words you would think he had never read Henry Luce's publication of William Bullitt's nefarious pieces from Europe; he does not seem to recall that the publications supporting Dewey are daily denigrating the efforts of Dumbarton Oaks, of Bretton Woods, and, basically, of the Teheran concord where Communists and non-Communists agreed to cooperate for a peaceful, prosperous world.

Mr. Lewis shrugs all this off by contending that Dewey's use of the anti-Communism tactics is but one of the issues on which Dewey is campaigning. He fails to see that this is *the* issue to avoid all other issues.

Furthermore, Mr. Lewis contends "that Dewey has just as sound a right to go before the people with a program to drive out the New Dealers and Democrats and what few Communists there may be, as President Roosevelt had twelve years ago when he went to the people with a program to drive the Hoovers and the reactionaries and Republicans generally out of public life." Without discussing fully the remarkable implications of that statement, we can only see Mr. Lewis as posing Mr. Dewey's right to drive from public life all those—whether they be Democrats, Communists, or Republicans—who stand for the issues *PM* has been defending: international collaboration, a durable peace, a prosperous world. And has Mr. Lewis overlooked the notorious technique of driving from public life those who stand for the opposite of reaction? Label them Red, give them the Dies' work-over, and cast them into limbo. It is remarkable that Mr. Lewis should have forgotten this so soon, considering his newspaper's stand on the Dies Committee.

Finally, we can only believe that Mr. Lewis agrees with America's enemies that Communists should be cast outside the pale. Our position is with those who recognize the Communists' fundamental right to stay in it, along with Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and all the other categories that the Hitler-lovers in this country seek to relegate to the status of inferior citizenship. These are the questions Mr. Lewis stumbled over, in his blind, foolish editorial. We trust the other editors of *PM* do not agree with him; we know that most of *PM's* readers will not. Nor will the majority of Americans permit these things to happen, unless they are bamboozled into allowing a Dewey victory—something which *PM* itself is battling. But to fight well—*PM's* other policy makers should explain some of the facts of political life to its managing editor.

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On the positive side the plan is fairly comprehensive, providing for unemployment compensation, health measures, widows' pensions, retirement allowances, free milk for school children, etc.

No one, including the government, regards the plan as the solution of all of Britain's postwar social problems. Its success depends upon more fundamental factors, such as the nation's ability to keep production going through expanding markets and wide international cooperation. Such factors, it is increasingly felt in British circles, in turn depend upon the willingness and ability of all forward-looking groups, at the center of which is organized labor, to unite in order to gain a political majority in the next Parliament.

Swastika to the South

IF THE Farrell-Peron fascists thought they were pulling a fast one by announcing that they would not permit Axis war criminals to enter the country or to make deposits in Argentine banks they must have been sorely disappointed. For on the very afternoon that news of the so-called pledge was made public President Roosevelt used his press conference to denounce Argentina for submitting to increasing Nazi influence and seeking to undermine the safety of the American republics by dividing the Allies. There was, moreover, no indication whatsoever that the increasing pressure being brought to bear upon that country by Secretary Hull would be relaxed. On the contrary it was expected that the recent order forbidding US ships to pick up cargoes at Argentine ports on northbound runs would soon lead to a further tightening of the noose.

Quite aside from the notorious worthlessness of fascist pledges, whether they emanate from Berlin, Tokyo, or Buenos Aires, there is convincing evidence that Argentina, along with Spain, has already become a substantial refuge for highly placed Nazis, and a depository for their ill-gained fortunes. On the same day that the newspapers carried the announcement of Argentina's phony pledge, Allied Labor News received a timely dispatch from its alert correspondent in Montevideo giving details on the degree to which such traffic had been organized. This information reveals an active trade in Nazis and Nazi funds from Bilbao, Spain, carried by a Falangist shipping company. One Alejandro Zubizarreta, technical director of Aznar and Co., a Spanish navigation company, is reported personally to have carried large parcels containing Nazi fortunes for deposit in Buenos Aires and Montevideo banks. His company has also been smuggling Nazis across the Atlantic with forged passports. Among other sensational facts uncovered by ALN is that one bank, the Banco Frances-Italiano, has handled a million and a half dollars of doubtful transfers.

It would be appropriate at this stage, in order further to press the fascist clique in Argentina, if certain pertinent questions were publicly and officially put to them. This might be done through the Inter-American Emergency Committee for Political Defense, whose delegates will shortly convene in Mexico. This international agency might well demand information on German penetration, Nazi technicians and other leaders now in Argentina, and the exact role which Franco Spain plays as middleman in this nefarious contraband trade. The information obtained, if spread before the eyes of the world, would expose the present Farrell-Peron "pledge" for what it is—a fascist lie.

Willkie the Critic

THE voice of Wendell Willkie, who refuses to retire into the historical limbo to which he has been assigned by the Old Guard GOP, has spoken out again to the American electorate and its major political parties on an issue deeply involved in the November elections. In an article in the October 7 issue of *Collier's* Mr. Willkie addresses himself to the pressing problems of the Negro people "with the deliberate intent of helping to arouse an opinion that will require these candidates [of the Republican and Democratic parties] to put aside generalities, evasions, and pious platitudes and deal in concise, concrete terms with this human, this national, this world problem." Mr. Willkie takes to task the framers of the anti-discrimination planks in both the Democratic and Republican platforms. He puts his finger on the hypocritical call by the Republicans for a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax as a sure device to preserve it. He disposes of arguments against the "constitutionality" of the anti-poll tax law. He brands the Republican demand for a congressional inquiry into discrimination in the armed forces as a tactic of delay. And he makes it very clear what leaving the solution of the Negroes' problems to state rather than federal jurisdiction would mean. The Democrats he charges with evasion, with offering no remedy for the poll tax evil, with failing to call for an anti-lynch law and with not having a "disturbing thought" on the subject of discrimination in the armed forces.

There can be no question that Mr. Willkie's concern on all these questions is deep, sincere, and fundamentally nonpartisan. And he reveals the breadth of his political understanding when he observes that colonial, subject, and minority peoples are everywhere watching America's treatment of her Negro citizens as an earnest of her democratic pledges in this war against oppression. But Mr. Willkie's evident reluctance to make a complete break with the kidnappers of his party cramps his arguments. He passes hurriedly by the administration's real contributions toward the elimination of Jim Crow both under the New Deal and during wartime. He does not even mention the measures already taken against discrimination in the armed forces. He credits the Republicans with calling for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee in their platform but fails to observe that Roosevelt set up the first FEPC and that the key people behind Governor Dewey, and Dewey himself, have consistently, if deviously, sought to block the enforcement of its decisions. The sooner Mr. Willkie recognizes the grim reality that the controlling section of the GOP belies the sincerity of its gestures toward the Negro people by its every act—the sooner he joins other independent and decent Republicans in coming out for Roosevelt, the surer Americans will be that the next four years will realize the aims for which Mr. Willkie is gallantly fighting.

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File and Remember

Excerpts from Earl Browder's speech at Madison Square Garden, Sept. 28, 1944.

IT WOULD be a mistake . . . to describe Mr. Dewey's manipulations with the anti-Communist banner as unprincipled. No, unfortunately the situation is worse than that. Candidate Dewey and his high advisers have evidently, with cold calculation, decided to guide their campaign upon certain principles. They are the principles of the "anti-Communist crusade," the same which Hitler institutionalized in his notorious *Antikomintern*, which is the name of the Fifth Column. . . .

In order to see just what Candidate Dewey's course leads into for our country, let us suppose that the highly improbable happens, that a majority of American voters on November 7 vote for Dewey because they have accepted his frantic warnings of the danger of Communism. . . . What effect will that have on the conduct of the war?

That would be a message to our great ally, the Soviet Union, which is predominantly led by Communists, that America disapproved in principle of cooperation between the two countries, accepted it only as an unfortunate necessity of war, and was determined to bring it to an end as soon as possible.

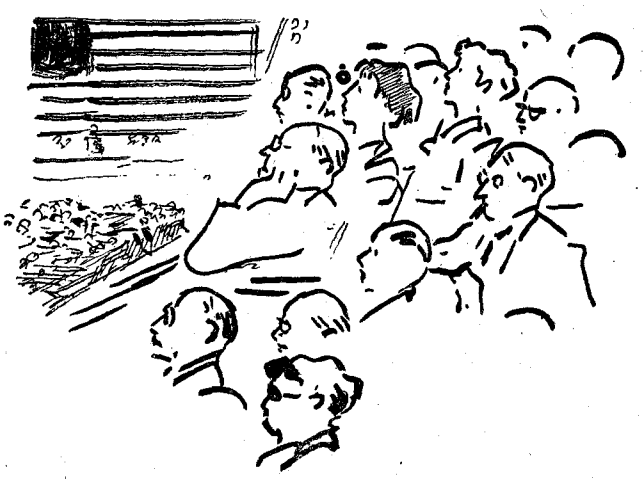
It would be a message to all the countries of Europe, where the democratic coalitions of the people . . . one and all include the Communists even in their highest leadership and cabinets, that the people of America disapprove of their collaboration with Communists. . . . It would be a call from America to France, Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, to break up their existing national unity formations, to drive out the Communists from their public life, and to drive out all those who want to cooperate with the Communists. It would in short be an American invitation to Europe to plunge immediately into the most devastating civil war.

It would be a message to China, withdrawing and cancelling the great efforts which our government has been making to obtain a settlement of China's internal dissensions, which are endangering the whole Pacific war and costing mounting numbers of American lives. . . .

It would be an announcement to the whole world that America has turned her back upon the whole idea of a world peace organization, which can become a reality only by the establishment of the principle of collaboration between non-Communists and Communists, and the complete cessation of the old "war between two worlds" of anti-Communism and Communism. . . .

What would be the consequences in America's domestic life? . . . First, the country will have given Dewey and his unknown cabinet a mandate to "put labor out of politics." But to put labor out of politics, to reverse the whole trend of history of the entire civilized world, will mark the beginning of the most deep-going disunity America has ever seen. It means the sharpest accentuation of class struggle in America. . . .

Second, it will throw the power and prestige of our government on the side of all those elements in the labor movement, first of all John L. Lewis and his motley allies, who have done everything possible to organize strike movements on the widest and most destructive scale during the war, and who are working overtime to prepare a great strike wave to break as soon as the war is over. . . . Third, it will start a witch-hunt throughout America, in high places and low, the feverish search for "hidden Communists," from which the only exemption will be that ferocious hatred of everything progressive and enlightened which is the hallmark of fascism. . . . Fourth . . . all plans of full utilization of American economy and full employment will fade with the disappearance of the world market in international disorders, and of the restriction of the domestic by strike waves on the Lewis model and other civil disorders. . . .



Soriano

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

THE EUROPEAN LEDGER

As a result of the mass "change of heart" among her satellites (with the exception of Hungary), Germany now has but a very tremulous hold on Norway, while in Greece and Yugoslavia her "hold" consists mainly in trying to retain lines of communication in order to get out. Hungary, pressed by a great double pincers forged by the Red Army, is squirming, and Hitler has had to resort to dire threats to keep that country more or less in line.

After a year of campaigning in Italy, Allied troops have almost reached the watershed of the Po and, while not yet quite in the clear, bid fair to make a junction with Marshal Tito in the Trieste-Gorizia region and with General Patch in the Ventimiglia-Modane region if that Italian mud is not too sticky this Fall. In view of the fact that Red Army troops have entered Yugoslavia somewhere in the sector of the Iron Gate of the Danube and are about to link up with Marshal Tito's forces in the valley of the Morava (Nish-Belgrade), if they have not done so already, the iron ring around Germany will soon stretch from Rotterdam to Murmansk via Holland, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union and Finland. And the three strategic monstrosities which were the German positions in the Baltic, in Scandinavia and in the Balkans will have been eliminated soon.

The German domain has shrunk three times around the "waist." Two years ago it spread from the Bay of Biscay to the Volga. Now it is ensconced only between the Rhine and the Vistula. The "height" of the German domain is still what it was. The Germans are still at the North Cape and at Cape Matapan, but soon this "height" will have shrunk five times and will be reduced to the distance between the Baltic and the Carpathians. Thus the war is fast approaching the stage where Hitler's Germany will be at bay between the Rhine and the Vistula, the Baltic and the Alps—a quadrangle 600 miles from west to east and some 500 miles from north to south, or 300,000 square miles. And when this happens the Wehrmacht will be fighting minus the oil of Ploesti, the iron of Sweden, the nickel of Finland, the electric power of northern Italy, the food of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary and the industrial plants of France, Belgium, and Holland.

Last spring I estimated that Germany still had a pool of mobilizable manpower of some 7,000,000. Since then Germany has lost about 1,500,000 on the Eastern Front and about 1,000,000 on the Western Front. She has lost for the most part whatever was left of the satellites. Thus, for the defense of the last "redoubt," the German general staff cannot possibly have more than 4,000,000 men, or, after deducting service troops, 250 undersized divisions fit for field service.

It is a safe bet to say then that the Allies have over Germany at least a one to two superiority in manpower, a great superiority in quality and quantity of materiel and the incalculable advantage of their absolute assurance of complete victory against the German certainty of ultimate defeat. True, the Germans in their "redoubt" will have short and inner lines of communications, but with the advent of air power short communications get more concentrated bombing than long ones. It should not be forgotten that the "bombable" area of Hitler's Fortress has shrunk in area about four times during the last four months.

At this time therefore, the military situation around Hitler's "redoubt" is as follows: The British Second Army (Dempsey) has thrust a deep salient into Holland with the object, in cooperation with the American First Army (Hodges), of outflanking the northern extremity of the so-called Siegfried Line which is reported to end at Cleve, with the two arms of the Lower Rhine (Waal and Lek) forming its extension clear to the sea. The British salient has almost isolated a number of German divisions in western Holland.

Meanwhile the Canadian Army is gradually reducing the Channel ports and clearing the seaboard of German troops. The right flank of the American First Army is gnawing the outer forts of the Siegfried Line in the area of Aachen, while the American Third (Patton) is fighting a battle of attrition with the German armor in the valley of the Moselle and the American Seventh (Patch) is storming the passes of the foothills of the Vosges in the direction of the so-called Belfort Gap. (This is somewhat of a misnomer because this gap leads from Germany into France, but not so much from France into Germany. Actually it leads to the Rhine which is a formidable barrier behind which the main fortifications of the Siegfried Line are located).

The Allied High Command, endeavoring to speed up rounding the end of the Siegfried Line in the north, sent a British airborne division across the Neder Rijn (Lek) in order to seize a bridgehead for the Second British Army. But the weather prevented the reinforcement of the "Red Devil" division and the Germans were able to concentrate reserves against it faster than was expected. On the face of it, the venture was a failure because three quarters of the division was annihilated and the remnants were withdrawn across the Rhine. However, the operation cannot be termed a complete failure. The heroic action of the "Red Devils" attracted German reserves to the area of Arnhem and facilitated the expansion of the British wedge to the east and to the west. It is conceivable that the airborne operation at Arnhem in fact saved the entire British strategic

Schools are beginning their sessions all over the USA—schools where America builds her future. But they are opening without Morris U. Schappes among the ranks of the teachers. Have you written to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey at Albany, N. Y., that he owes it to America's future citizens to pardon Morris Schappes at once?

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salient in Holland and will, after all, speed the irruption of Allied troops into northwestern Germany.

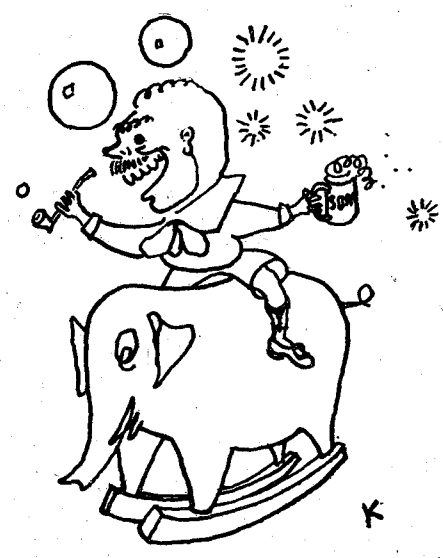
General Brereton's Airborne Army was assigned the task of securing Eindhoven, the bridge over the Maas at Graves, the great bridge over the Waal at Nijmegen, and the crossing over the Neder Rijn (Rhine) at Arnhem. All objectives were carried except the last. Airborne troops can achieve success only if they are quickly joined by regular ground troops. They cannot fight alone for long against strong enemy land forces. When the British Second Army reached the Neder Rijn opposite Arnhem, the "time" of the "Red Devils" had already run out. The British could not force a crossing of the Neder Rijn and the best that could be done was to send across boats at night to rescue the couple of thousand men left from the original contingent of 8,000. This rescue was in itself a feat. The heroic stand of the "Red Devils" gave time for the Allied forces at Nijmegen to organize a strong bridgehead and secure their foothold on the right bank of the Rhine.

In Italy Allied armies are making some progress, but the battles so far remain indecisive. For a year the Italian campaign has been a secondary holding operation. A year ago the Red Army was 600 miles from Marshal Tito's forces and the Allied armies were 130 miles away. Today the Red Army is in Yugoslavia and the Allied armies are as yet many miles from a junction with Tito, not counting the commando raids on the Adriatic coast.

Marshal Tito has advanced to within striking distance of Belgrade, but will hardly attack this key center of German communications until the Red Army has appeared on the scene. Tito's forces alone are not strong enough to pinch and hold the "jugular vein" of the German Balkan position. Here Marshal Malinovsky and Marshal Tolbukhin will have to help.

Aside from striking into Yugoslavia from the Iron Gate, Malinovsky is poking a dagger into the real "underbelly of Europe," the real soft spot of Germany's paunch—the Hungarian plain which leads past the mountain fortress which is Bohemia-Moravia, into Austria and Bavaria. Between this thrust and the semi-circular attack on most of the Carpathian passes, the German-Hungarian position in Transylvania, Carpatho-Ruthenia and Slovakia is gravely compromised.

Between the Carpathians and the Baltic an operational lull has set in since the middle of September when Praga was taken and the fortress cities of Lomzha and Ostrolenka were reduced. Thus in mid-September the Soviet High Command made a preliminary thrust into the corridor between the Vistula and East Prussia (on the Narev). Two weeks earlier they had made a corresponding thrust into the corridor between the Vistula and the Carpathians, having captured Dembitza and Sandomir.



The Soviet Baltic armies began a sweep of Estonia and Latvia in the second half of September, and have cleared them except for two Estonian islands (Dago and Oesel) and the immediate vicinity of Riga. Having cleared the Baltic, Rumania, and Bulgaria, and having thrust wedges between the bulge of the Vistula and the Carpathians and East Prussia, the Red Army will probably soon clamp the central vise on the bulge of the Vistula itself.

In the opinion of this writer there will not be, there *should* not be any winter lull on any of the European fronts. The Red Army conducted a series of gigantic and brilliantly successful campaigns last winter. Marshal Tito has fought through three winters in the most rugged climate of Europe. Why should there be a lull in the valley of the Rhine, known for the comparative mildness of its climate? A number of commentators and analysts now attempt to represent the local setback at Arnhem as the cause of a prolongation of the war "by months and months." This is pure and unadulterated nonsense. There is absolutely no reason to believe that General Eisenhower will decide to hibernate. Such a lull is the "white hope" of the German general staff ("a lull and a dewie"—is all they hope for). Ike is not the man to fulfill it.

Doctors After the War

(*Continued from page 4*)

newly created institutions and the great educational and research centers, thus affording excellent clinical training for internes and residents as well as the best medical care for patients.

It is to be hoped that these suggestions will be adopted and written into legislation to supplement the proposed health insurance system of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

Those physicians who are faced with these circumstances will reevaluate or in many instances ponder for the first time the problems of the organization of medical care in America. Many will realize the need for a National Health Program such as is proposed in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill—at first in terms of their own needs and then in terms of the general advancement of the nation's health standards.

It must be clearly understood that the main streams of the nation's postwar political controversy will have their imprint on the physician's outlook, and may under appropriate circumstances predominate over or obscure the tendencies which have been discussed above.

However, it may be said that the problems of postwar medicine will create the prerequisites for a progressive trend among the younger physicians returning from the armed forces. Should this trend materialize, one may anticipate that the development of such an attitude with respect to the organization of medical practice would have its parallel in the general social orientation of doctors.

The need for rapid increase of facilities for postgraduate training can best be met by the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, whereby federal grants-in-aid would be available for this purpose and by such supplementary legislation as may be proposed to create new medical institutions with federal subsidies. The fluidity of medical personnel which will be occasioned by demobilization and the transition to civilian life will provide a golden opportunity for the reorganization of higher medical education and medical practice along progressive lines. The vast expansion of teaching hospital facilities which could be achieved would mean a renaissance in American medicine.

Dr. Starr's discussion of the future of physicians is part of a series of articles initiating discussion on questions facing the professional and white collar fields in the postwar.—The Editors.

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BIRTH OF A SONG AND A MAN

By VLADIMIR POZNER

FASCISM works like a muzzle: it keeps you from eating—and from raising your voice. Only if you choose to collaborate will you get your feed and your ration of words—not to speak, but to repeat. If not, it's hunger and silence. You may accept silence, and then perhaps you won't be hungry seven days a week. Or you may prefer hunger and retain your own voice. Then you'll speak—but illegal words. If you write—it'll be underground writing. And if you compose a song—it will be a forbidden song.

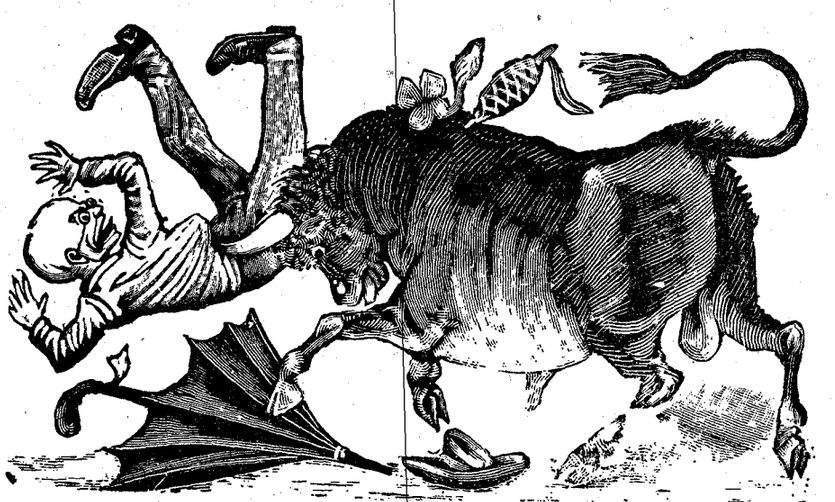
Through four years of silence and hunger, France has been singing forbidden songs. Old ones—the *Marseillaise*, the *Carmagnole*, the *Internationale*—and also new ones. New songs about bullets, knives, and dynamite, about "the long flights of ravens over our plains" and "the black blood that the sun will dry tomorrow on the roads." No one knows who wrote the words and composed the tunes—these songs are as anonymous as *Frere Jacques* or *Le Pont d'Avignon*—as anonymous and as popular. But whoever wrote the words was a poet, most likely someone we all know. And I have no doubt that the man who wrote the tune is not an amateur, not even a beginner. He is certainly a musician—a French musician. That's all we know about him—and all we need to know.

Let's make him an average man—not too famous and not too obscure, old enough not to be sent to do forced labor, and young enough to survive. He probably lives in Paris, on the Left Bank. Before the war he had an apartment—the same one for twenty years at least—with old furniture in rather bad shape—except the piano. He also had a publisher, and his new works were introduced at *Concerts Lamoureux* or *Salle Gaveau* to a few hundred attentive listeners who discussed them on their way home or in a cafe where they would drop in after the concert. The next day they were reviewed by music critics: the *adagio* lagged a little but the *scherzo* was charming and witty. He himself discussed his works, the public's reaction, and the reviews with his friends, most of whom were connected with music in one way or another. And so were most of his thoughts, dreams, joys, and disappointments. Not that he had contempt for the people who could not appreciate good music. Not that he was a narrow specialist. But music was his craft, and to him it was all-important. Every year added to his reputation; a day would come when his name would become familiar to the tightly-knit family of music lovers at home and abroad.

IF HE had any social or political convictions he most certainly expressed them in his conversation and in his ballot—not in his works. The Munich conference has no possible bearing on a symphony you're writing. Your next-door neighbor is a fascist—does this prevent you from using brass winds in your second movement? War and defeat can change your life but not a single note of a composition you're working on. The keys of your piano are carved out of the same ivory your tower is built of.

It was still the same piano in June 1940. Fascism was all over Paris—looking into your face from the walls covered with posters, from the front page of the newspapers, from the Eiffel Tower with its swastika flag. People were fighting it with bullets, knives, and dynamite, long flights of ravens were circling over the plains of France, and in the hungry silence of his cell one of the best French newspapermen, Gabriel Peri, was writing his famous farewell letter: "I am dying to make possible singing tomorrows." He was shot a few hours later, as were hundreds and thousands of others—for four years, day in, day out, a French anti-fascist killed every fifteen minutes. Fifteen minutes of silence, a shot, and silence again. The singing tomorrows were still far away.

I do not imagine that one day the composer, bursting with pent-up fury, sat down to write a song of revenge and hope. He certainly protested and cursed like the others. But even though it had become an act of courage to whistle Mendelssohn's Wedding March, and a crime to hum the opening bars of Beethoven's Fifth, it probably never occured to him to express his protest through his medium. I rather see him spending more and more time at home, alone, working on his symphony. . . .



"Don Chapito Thrown by a Bull," one of a group of prints by the Mexican artist Jose Posada, on view at the Brooklyn Museum until October 15. Posada, who died in 1913, produced more than 20,000 engravings in behalf of the revolutionary cause in Mexico. The mythical Don Chapito, a sort of "fall guy" used to represent feudalism and reaction, is here seen getting the worst of it in a tangle with the Mexican bull.

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I would like to think that some day he was approached by a friend and told that the Underground needed a marching song. Here were the words; would he write a tune to them?

Was he surprised, disturbed, flattered, afraid? Did he hesitate? Did he consider answering that it would interfere with his current work, that he never wrote music to order? That he didn't like the words? No matter what he felt, how could he refuse?

The keys of his piano, when he sat down to work, were still carved of the same ivory. Here was a craft problem. Anger, resentment, hope had little to do with it, much less than a long line of song writers—from Schubert to Faure. Above all, it had to be good music. If the composer felt exalted, it was an artist's exaltation—the moment he found his tune and knew it was good he might have even forgotten for a while that France was occupied.

I hope he remembered it in time. Not to improve his work, but for the sake of his personal safety. His next-door neighbor might have overheard and remembered the tune, and later recognized it—his neighbor a fascist, hence an informer. If the musician thought of it himself that day, he must have felt—while he was soft-pedalling his instrument or even composing in his head, in silence—he must have felt that his concept of music was beginning to undergo a change. If not—it was just changing without his knowing it yet.

He wouldn't be slow to grasp this. It doesn't take long for a song to spread underground. From village to village, from echo to echo, from guerrilla to guerrilla. It becomes a password, a meeting point, a point of reference. Even children learn it. The enemy, too, is quick to spot it. There may be a few weeks only between the time the song is composed and a man is sent to jail for singing it.

I TRY to think of the composer after he had completed his work. Did he just experience a feeling of satisfaction over a well-done job and then forget all about it and resume his usual occupations? Perhaps. But what about the first time he heard his song hummed by a stranger? What about the first time he learned that men sentenced to die were singing it in the face of a firing squad? What about the day he was told that a guerrilla detachment won a skirmish because, in addition, to their other weapons, they had his song? He had become involved in the struggle—

"Calavera of the Zapatistas." Posada here turns to political use a typically Mexican form of humor, the "calavera," in which the living are shown as the dead. The Zapatistas were hard-riding revolutionaries of the south whose slogan, like that of their contemporary Villa, was "Land and Liberty!"

maybe despite himself—no longer as a man only, but as a musician. His tune had become part and parcel of French revolutionary traditions, of French history, and in the years to come not only music critics, but historians and novelists as well would write of it.

Today the black blood of fascists is drying under the sun over the roads of France. France is on her way out of silence into the singing tomorrows. France has found her voice again—in the Maquis of Brittany, in the ruins of Saint-Lo, on the barricades of Paris—and that voice is heard all over the world.

What is going to happen to the French composer? He is free now to go back to his pre-war life, have his new symphony introduced to a few hundred attentive listeners, discuss it with his friends, have it reviewed by music critics. He may retire again behind the ivory keys of his piano. Will he—after having learned that music can be a matter of death and life? That people die for a song and win with the song? I would rather think that in his case the birth of a song has become the birth of a man.

That is not—fortunately for you—an American experience. Your composers are free to write as they please and what they please. I trust they'll always be—perhaps because in France, and in Yugoslavia, and in Russia, and in China, hundreds of thousands of people who are not supposed to appreciate good music have died to make possible singing tomorrows. Tell me—does it necessarily take four years of hunger and silence, four years of fascism, to make an artist realize where he and his art belong?

This paper was delivered at the opening session of the Institute on Music in Contemporary Life, on September 14, 1944. The Institute was a four-day conference of musicians, sponsored jointly by the Musicians Congress and the Department of Music of the University of California, Los Angeles. The paper is reprinted here through the courtesy of the editorial committee of the Institute, which plans to publish the complete proceedings shortly.

Plus and Minus

AMERICA AND TWO WORLD WARS, *by Dexter Perkins. Little, Brown. $3.00.*

DR. PERKINS, professor of history at the University of Rochester, has written this book to prove that American isolation is impossible, which is all well and good. He works his way through the diplomatic history of the United States from 1898 to 1944 and infers therefrom: ". . . that a great nation cannot isolate itself physically, morally, or intellectually from the rest of the world; that it cannot and will not suspend its judgments, or assume an attitude of cool detachment in the midst of world catastrophe; and that the only true prescription for 'keeping the United States out of war' is the construction of an international order in which such conflicts as those of 1914 and 1939 do not occur at all." This the author amplifies with: "Peace depends upon (1) the effective disarmament of Germany and Japan; (2) the harmonious cooperation of the victor nations; (3) the evolution of international institutions for the better solution of the broad economic and political problems of the international society. It depends too upon the sagacity of the American people, their choice of leaders, and the working of their constitutional mechanism. Finally it is related to the success of our own domestic economic order."

Plenty of proof is offered that our relations with Britain were never better, and from this it is estimated that they will remain so at least in the near future. Our relations with the Orient as a whole and with China in particular are good; everybody agrees Japanese militarism must be smashed. Dr. Perkins puts his finger on what he considers the most likely sore spot—relations of capitalist United States and its peculiar social traditions with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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But he hates everything he thinks the Soviet government stands for. He refers to the "autocrat in the Kremlin," says "Russia broke promises made to America when recognized in 1933," takes it for granted Russia will "annex the eastern part of Poland," and as you might suspect, he doesn't like Communists. But the logic of history forces Dr. Perkins to say: "There is no reason why the countries [USA and USSR] should not pursue the same objectives, or why they need to clash with each other." Concerning the Soviet territorial claims, he hopes, but hardly expects, they can be compromised, then says, "If they aren't, what of it?

"There are Americans, and it is a melancholy thing to say it, who, for partisan ends, or to promote the isolationism in which they believe, are ready to inflate these territorial questions into an issue which will produce a rupture, or at least a coldness, in Russo-American relations. There is here one of the great dangers of the future." Professor Perkins maintains also that no socialist system would work in America, but: "For the Russians, the Soviet system works, and is carrying the country triumphantly through a bloody and costly war. Why should we seek to impose our standards upon others any more than we would wish them to impose their standards on us? Why should we permit differences of economic organization to create a rift between us?"

This position, taken by a Rochester University faculty member or the President of the US Chamber of Commerce, is an auspicious sign in the Teheran epoch. Perhaps as time goes on, Dr. Perkins will modify some of his views on the Soviet system. For he gets better as he goes into the present and future; the more historical he is, the worse he is. His thought processes leading up to his present conclusions are exactly those that Marx used to call "metaphysical" (not using the word as an American college student would). That is, Professor Perkins makes rigid permanent categories that soon lose step with changing reality.

For Perkins, the wave of American hatred for the treacheries of the Versailles treaty, the popular conviction that the first world war was an imperialist war — all this goes into the same basket with pacifism, the Bund, or the position of Wheeler or Hearst in the present fight against Hitler. He treats them as all varieties of "isolationism." The American conquest of the Philippines, the Open Door policy in China, the dismemberment of the Republic of Colombia by Teddy Roosevelt, the fourteen points of Wilson, the American horror at Munich, and our present war all go together in the opposite basket.

The man is nearly blind to fascism and imperialism; doesn't like to use the words; seldom recognizes the facts. For him June 22, 1941, was a military date that American diplomacy had to note, but it did not change the character of the war in any way. One of the most curious results of this attitude of Perkins' is his treatment, or rather lack of treatment of the Spanish Civil War. Most people agree now that the Spanish events were the key to the Munich period. But Perkins mentions them only twice, and indifferently at that. And at no time does he mention the United States in relation to them.

Suffering though it does from considerable confusion—and a rather plodding style—the book probably marks a step forward in the thinking of certain groups to whom, however, history still has much to teach.

VERN SMITH.

Beautiful Disrelation

THE BOOK OF NEW POEMS: 1944, *edited by Oscar Williams. Howell, Soskin. $3.00.*

"OMITTED," writes Oscar Williams, in the introduction to his anthology, "a number of fairly well known young poets who are imitating each other to death and to the death of their audiences." One hesitates to believe that those included by Mr. Williams altogether abstained from "imitating each other," for it is depressing to think that such a widespread grasping at mystical escapism was the result of independent effort on the part of so many of them. And it is true that most of the older and more firmly established poets do seem to have set a consistently bad example.

One could hardly suspect from this volume that mankind is in the midst of world-shaking events; and with two or three exceptions, these poets seem altogether untouched by the dawn of liberation from torture and slavery of whole nations, of entire continents, or of the great wave of hope and joy sweeping ahead of the victorious forces of the United Nations.

It is left to one man, Robinson Jeffers—to libel even Cassandra—to sneer from his Olympian cliff at the war and at all mankind. America, he tells us, because we "over-valued the rat-run historical tombs of Europe," has been

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"betrayed a second time into folly." He comforts himself, however, with the reflection that "the whole affair is only a hare-brained episode in the life of the planet," the only things of any importance or permanence being, apparently, himself and the Pacific.

From here we move to a chain of attitudes in which the unimportance of man is linked with the unreliability of his intellect. C. Day Lewis, at the end of nine sonnets, reaches the mournful conclusion: "We settle, but like feathers on time's flow." Auden, surrendering man's ability or even desire to solve his problems, announces,

We look around for something,
no matter what, to inhibit
Our self-reflection, and the obvious
thing for that purpose
Would be some great suffering.

and recommends that we try not to forget Christ so soon after Christmas. John Peale Bishop would rob us of even this comfort, for "There was One who might have saved me," but "He is dead . . . and of His bones are charnels made." And e. e. cummings brings this to-hell-with-thought chorus to a full close with the profound observation:

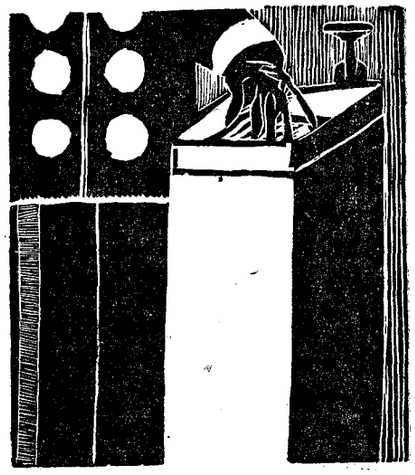
the mightiest meditations of mankind
cancelled are by one merely opening leaf.

Perhaps Mr. Williams' poets really have not been "imitating each other to death." But at least it is with no surprise that, against such a background, we come to Section II of the anthology, entitled "Poems from the Armed Forces." Here we find the same contemplation of spiritual navels, the same shrinking from experience, the same hopelessness and defeat. Sometimes this is expressed with a candor that is as honest as it is embarrassing—Richard Eberhart, for example:

Of war in the animal sinews let us
speak not,
But of the beautiful disrelation of
the spiritual.

Or the scornful doggerel by Donald Stauffer about "our tampering minds." Or Alfred Hayes' self-pity in a slaughter house. Or the sheer terror of war portrayed in the poems of Julian Symons.

All of this is not, of course, unrelated to the almost complete lack of any expression of purpose. Having not a ghost of an idea why they are fighting, most of these poets find themselves confronted



by a meaningless succession of horrors and dangers. Perhaps all we have a right to expect of such people is an occasional sharp and convincing picture, and note should be taken that Mr. Williams does provide us with some—H. B. Mallalieu's "State of Readiness"; an air-raid scene struck to a Greek frieze by Stephen Spender; Henry Reed's sly and charming "Naming of Parts." Here and there, a hint of meaning comes through, an attempted organization of chaos, as in the work of Randall Jarrell, W. R. Rodgers, or Timothy Corsellis.

But Mr. Williams happily gives us one poem at least with which to pierce the encircling gloom. That is Archibald MacLeish's "The Young Dead Soldiers," which is simple and direct and moving.

DAVID MCKELVEY WHITE.

Navy Medicine

THE WOUNDED GET BACK, *by Albert Q. Maisel. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.*

ON THE formerly Japanese-held base of Peleliu the famed Navy amphitracs (amphibious tractors or alligators) are now removing the wounded from the beachhead, and floating them out to the hospital ship anchored offshore.

Albert Maisel has chosen the work of the Navy medical service as the subject matter of his new book. Author of last year's excellent *Miracles of Modern Medicine*, he has captured here the smell of iodoform, alcohol, swabs, and bandages. He mixes it with sweat, varnish, linseed oil, and the odors emanating from the ship's galley; penetrates deeply into the innermost heart of a naval hospital ship and exposes its guts; removes the bluff exterior of gold braid and discipline.

This is the story of a front-line voyage

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to Guadalcanal, the Solomons, New Caledonia, and the base hospitals of New Zealand. It is the story of floating hospitals crammed with the latest type of shiny, chrome-plated equipment; and it is also filled with the mud, rain, and mosquitoes of the Pacific and with the sheet metal Quanset huts mixed in with pharmaceuticals, bedding, tentage, netting, and dehydrated eggs. The book is not a discourse on new medical practices, but shows rather the wonders of the sulfa drugs, plasma, and penicillin—at work where they are desperately needed. In this tribute to the organization of naval medicine, Maisel describes vividly the medical legends created by SCAT (South Pacific Combat Air Transport Command). Here in brief also is the story of the naval construction battalions, the Seebees, who can make more out of less material than any other outfit on earth.

The author details the planning and organization and distribution of equipment and hospital corpsmen aboard a ship, and shows the care and ingenuity which go into such an undertaking—a plan worthy of an Eisenhower or Rokossovsky plotting a battle. Mr. Maisel is an extraordinary reporter who gets the facts across and makes them stick. A recent review in the *Military Surgeon's Journal* says, "The Navy is fortunate indeed in finding such a keen observer and gifted writer to record the trials and triumphs of its medical service. . . . Substitute the word Army wherever Navy appears and it would be a story of Army medicine in the South Pacific." JAMES KNIGHT.

Chemistry in the War

THE CHEMICAL FRONT, *by William Haynes. Knopf. $3.00.*

CHEMISTRY has been relegated to the background in this war. Leading scientists refer to the conflict as a "physicists' war." The famed British magazine *Nature* cites as evidence for this opinion the tremendous growth of the radio and aeronautics. Our newspapers barrage us with the glories of the modern "golden cockerel"—radar. We read of Nazi magnetic mines and our magnetic counter-offensive in the form of degaussing girdles around our ships. Our youngsters talk in terms of Flying Fortresses, Spitfires, and Stormoviks. It is the jet-controlled planes and the Soviet Katusha rocket gun that cause speculation. Chemistry is considered a has-been that once played a significant role in the war of 1914-18, but is no longer interesting.

This challenge has been effectively answered in *The Chemical Front.* Mr. Haynes has been a chemist and a journalist—he is at present owner and publisher of the important trade journal *Chemical Industries.* His writing is sharp, to the point, and the evidence is all on his side. For the planes, tanks, guns, and ships depend for their striking power on the lethal weapons forged by the ordnance chemist. He describes in great detail the transformation from black gunpowder to guncotton to the modern blockbuster. He projects the movements of our highly mechanized armies on rubber wheels—rubber created in the laboratory when the natural supply was lost to the Japanese militarist butchers. It is in this field that Mr. Haynes goes astray. For he would have you believe that the rubber and oil companies are all sweetness and light—and the government just bureaucratic red tape.

But the author's description of chemical processes is excellent. He skillfully recreates the role of plastics in the war. For this war industry, which to a great extent was created by the shortage of materials, has wrought wonders. The test tubes of this industry have poured out canteens for the soldiers; they form the face material for the new gas masks, and even have manufactured 20,000 plastic bugles. In a chapter on petroleum and oil products, Mr. Haynes practically "cracks" and purifies the high-octane gas, so vital for the mighty war engines.

The book also contains excellent chapters on the sulfa drugs, penicillin, blood plasma, and the anti-malarials prepared by the forgotten chemists. Mr. Haynes disproves the "physicists' war" theory, and shows that chemistry, physics, mathematics, biology, medicine, etc. are all necessary components in winning the global war.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

IN THE WORLD OF ART

By MOSES SOYER

"Great artists, actors, and scientists must be great liberals because in order to create great things they are compelled, for a time at least, to forget 'self.' In the fever of enthusiasm they strive to create a new beauty, to discover a new truth, to serve mankind in a new way." (From Henry A. Wallace's speech delivered under the auspices of the Independent Voters Committee of Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt.)

I CAN think of no better way to begin my art column of the new season than to speak about Paris and its art of the past, and to conjecture upon its art of the future. When news came that Paris was liberated, the hearts of artists all over the world were filled with joy in the knowledge that art was again free. To the artist, Paris has come to mean not only the city of liberty and light but also the city that gave birth to all the significant art movements of modern times. As one's mind goes back to the four horrible years of cultural darkness in which Paris was shrouded one cannot help but wonder what has become of the many leading spirits to whom artists throughout the world looked for guidance. Some, we know, have proved themselves weak and have given up their principles; some, like the gaunt, spiritual Soutine, symbol of the stranger whose native talent, becoming fused with the art of France, greatly enriched it, were reported killed; some, like Picasso and Matisse, although there is very little news about them, were steadfast in their art and stood by their beliefs.

Picasso and Matisse have been the two greatest influences on the art of the world in the last thirty-five years. While Picasso symbolizes internationalism of the School of Paris in art, Matisse symbolizes pure French art. The French people have a great tradition in art. From David on, down to Delacroix, Courbet, Daumier, the Impressionists, Van Gogh, Degas, and Cezanne, art has been, like literature, the voice of the nation. In its paintings one can see the history of its revolutions, social as well as esthetic. It is only when we reach the beginning of the twentieth century that French art, under the leadership of Matisse, whose artistic integrity is above question, changed its face. It became an art spiritually hollow and esthetic, and ceased to reflect the life and aspirations of the people of France. As far back as 1908 Matisse, already a famous artist with a tremendous following, in his *Notes of a Painter* proclaims the principle of pure art, of art for art's sake, in the following words: "What I dream of is an art that is equilibrated pure and calm, free of disturbing subject matter, an art that can be for any intellectual worker, for the businessman or the writer, a means of soothing the soul, something like a comfortable armchair in which one can rest from physical fatigue."

For thirty-six years Matisse has clung to this credo with a tenacity that often characterizes great artists. He has created an art that is beautiful to look at and soothing, but which, except esthetically, says little. In this sense, although he began like many important artists as a breaker of traditions—as the leader of the "wild beasts" *(les fauves)*—his art, as time went on, became merely as he himself says "a means of soothing the soul, a comfortable armchair." Modern French art under his leadership has become emasculated; an art of *bon gout* in which it became the fashion to say nothing, but to say it beautifully and gracefully.

Alice Reiner

It is inconceivable that the art of the future, of France and, for that matter, of Europe, should continue along the same lines. The people, after so many years of physical suffering and spiritual blackout, will not be content with the merely esthetic art of the past. They will demand from their artists and poets—as they will from their leaders in other fields of life—a return to the fundamentals and greater verities, and the artists will have to keep pace.

A LETTER written by a young artist who signs himself "Gerry" to an older and more experienced artist has come to my attention. I consider this letter important because in it Gerry expresses thoughts and doubts which today disturb many young artists who, on the threshold of their careers, are at a loss as to which road in art to pursue. In Gerry's case the choice narrows down to two: the art for art's sake school and the so-called social art school.

Gerry writes: "Art is first of all creative. If it isn't—it's nothing. In the final analysis art is not for the masses. If we paint for the masses we have nothing, and I cite the USSR art shown at the World's Fair." (I shall not attempt in this article to defend the art of the USSR. I know too little about it. To judge it on the basis of the exhibition at the Fair would be just as presumptuous and unfair as it would be if American art as a whole were judged on the basis of the several variously selected exhibitions that have been lately sent abroad. I would like however to refer Gerry and others to a short essay on Russian art by Elizabeth McAusland, which appeared in the May 23, 1943, issue of the Springfield *Sunday Union and Republican*. It is a thoughtful analysis of the achievements of the Russian artists and the inheritance on which they built and are building their art.)

Gerry continues: "It is my belief that Daumier, under different circumstances,

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had he not been involved so much in politics, would have painted just as fine pictures—but, perhaps, still-lifes. Likewise, Goya, had he not lived through a war, still would have painted wonderful pictures, maybe landscapes."

What Gerry says is not new. It has been said and argued before. It is indicative of the esthetic turmoil which accompanies a social crisis such as we are experiencing at present. It also is indicative of lack of direction.

Art, since its very inception, since the very day when the cave girl, moved by a strange desire, traced with a half-burned stick of charcoal her lover's shadow on the wall of the cave, has been a social instrument, in the sense that it served to project the ideals, aspirations, customs, and traditions of the people into visual form. The idea that the artist is a being apart, an isolated figure, is a false, bourgeois conception. Artists are human beings and, as such, are open to fluctuations of fashion and changes of ideals. They are part of the time in which they live and their thoughts, ideas, and art are determined by the conditions and happenings of their time. The greater the artist, the truer this is. Even when the "rebel" artist strives in his work to escape from or repudiate his age, he expresses, perhaps unconsciously, the "rebellious escape longings" of the people of his time. (Laver.)

There were many good artists in Daumier's time who painted splendid landscapes and still-lifes, yet in retrospect it is Daumier who looms as a giant among his fellow contemporaries, precisely because in reacting to the social environment he painted the corrupt lawyers and judges, the lowly washerwomen and the workers on barricades. The same is true of Goya. He, alone among his contemporaries, dared to paint war not as a glorious adventure, a pageant of movement and color, as war was treated in those days, but as a horrible crime against the people, mass murder in all its ugliness and cruelty. (By the way, Goya painted some beautiful landscapes too. Lastly, this also is true of Picasso. His "Guernica" of today will mean to the people of tomorrow what Goya's "Disasters of War" mean now.

IN THE final analysis, however, it is foolish to argue as to what might have been had not certain conditions existed. Conditions make the artist, and it is the intensity and honesty with which the artist reacts to and reflects these conditions that make him great or small.

Historically art has always been for the masses. It is only since the seventeenth century, the beginning of bourgeois society, that the artist has been relegated from the lofty position of the people's poet to the much inferior one of a dependent on private patronage. The new conditions forced him into isolation and he began to paint for himself and the chosen few only, gradually evolving in his own self-defense the philosophy that art is the property of a few connoisseurs, and not for the masses. Nothing could be further from the truth.

FILMS OF THE WEEK

A SURVEY of the week's films (up to the opening of *Seventh Cross*) could very easily induce a state of acute melancholy, were it not for the fact that I have an abiding faith in the influence, plans, and potential of the more mature Hollywood craftsmen. One of these movies, *Barbary Coast Gent*, I have not yet seen. It is probably, therefore, somewhat unfair to pass judgment upon it. But its central character is Wallace Beery, and no one has ever reminded me more of the diaper days of the film industry.

Of the movies around, *Casanova Brown* is the best, but that is faint praise. If worthy of discussion, it is only because it demonstrates a depressing characteristic prevalent in far too many movies, and one that serious writers and producers are working to eliminate. I refer to the habit of sacrificing people to the exigencies of plot. It is even truer of *The Impatient Years*, the Jean Arthur-Charles Coburn picture at the Criterion.

Casanova Brown, through which International Pictures, a new producing company, gets off to a flying standstill, is based upon *Little Accident*, a play popular a decade or so ago. A college professor is about to marry when he is informed that he has a baby from a previously annulled marriage. This fact in itself need not necessarily disturb the hackles of respectability, but it is seized upon as wonderful plot material. In the turns and convolutions that follow, from baby-stealing to being wheeled about on a maternity cot in a baby hospital, said Brown loses all resemblance to a reasonably functioning human being.

Fun is never more robust than when it comes out of life-like situations. When that fact is firmly planted among the tools of movie production, we will have real humor instead of artificially engendered gags. If *Casanova Brown* has any accidental relation to reality, it is due to the assumptions of naivete and simplicity that Gary Cooper imparts to his work.

Remembering the success of *The More The Merrier*, Columbia Pictures probably had an idea that the automatic reappearance of Jean Arthur and Charles Coburn would instantaneously guarantee any picture. *The Impatient Years* proves how wrong such an idea could be. The film is based upon a valid enough theme—the reunion of a soldier with a wife whom he courts in a hurry, whom he scarcely gets to know, and who must now face the problem, as must the wife, of resuming a relationship after a long separation. Doubtless, there will be many such situations after the war, but writer Virginia Van Upp had in mind not the honest exploration of such a problem, but some plot only vaguely related to it. In the pursuit of the threads of her continuity, she completely overlooks the fact that real people behave in a way that has nothing to do with her scheming. For example. GI Joe and his wife prepare for bed the first night in the usual manner. They get into sleeping clothes, discuss a number of things important and casual—and then what does the husband do? After a year and a half of absence from his wife (incidentally, they have a baby) he makes his bed on the floor. When the father-in-law notices the fact the next day, he starts to lecture the boy. Now we figure, he will tell the dope. But the parent turns out to be as big a schlemiel as the husband. Women are peculiar animals he explains, especially when they have babies. Therefore they must be treated with a great deal of patience.

I need not take up any more of your time with details of plot. In order to remind the audience that this is a serious film dealing with a weighty postwar problem, each of the characters states at least once that the best time of marriage comes after the honeymoon. It better had, since it lasts a whale of a time longer. The humor is as fatuous as the writing, and the acting is all that the film deserves, my constant love for Jean Arthur notwithstanding.

If the boy and the girl had embraced during the first hundred feet of the film,

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or if Lee Bowman, as the husband, had had enough sense to get up off the floor, or stay off it in the first place, there would have been no need for either the assistance of Miss Van Upp or Columbia Pictures. Long live the happy homecoming.

A TECHNICOLOR musical with an old-hat plot follows *Wilson* into the Roxy. Like almost every musical you can remember, when you have nothing better to do, it deals with the young musician from the sticks who in one jump becomes the author of a rousing Broadway success. There is also the customary wooing, or woo as the pulps have it, and the recipient thereof is the stagestruck idealist who, although she has never sung a lick, always becomes the star of the show. This time the picture is called *Greenwich Village*, for reasons never made clear. It has as much to do with Greenwich Village, either as a geographical location or a state of mind, as has any of its predecessors. I have been told that the reason movie makers change the name from film to film is to give different people a chance to act the various roles. For this latest version, or rather revival, there is a cast including Don Ameche, Carmen Miranda, William Bendix, and a newcomer, Vivian Blaine.

One or two touches are supposed to justify the use of the title. One is a shot of Webster Hall (where NEW MASSES has been holding its annual Artists and Writers Ball for thirty-three years, the next one on December 2—adv.) To give you an idea of the vast chasm between fact and fancy, Webster Hall is shown with outdoor balconies, climbing ivy and other such gaudy inventions. The other touch is the display of paintings and artists brought up from the Village by the publicity man in a quick deployment of his exploitation forces. It is true that as an authentic note, it appears outside the picture, but why quibble? Included in the billing are the Revuers, who went to Hollywood by way of the Vanguard Club in the Village. I waited and waited and sat to the very end of the picture, but they never did appear.

ANOTHER technicolor film of escapist intent is *Frenchman's Creek*, at the Rivoli. This one is supposed to be a blood and thunder classic, dealing with supercharged romance, piracy, and the rest of the concomitant trimmings. No one likes a high class romance better than I do, and I yield to no man in my being fascinated by old-fashioned sword-play and the adagio movements that attend the hi-jacking of ships. But once again I must confess disappointment. Never was a buckle swashed with less spirit. Never a more gentle collection of cutthroats. There isn't the sign of an earring, a peg-leg or a patch eye in the lot. The tip-off as to how the audience is to be short-changed comes when the pirate chief explains to his enamorata that piracy is a science. *A science!* Shades of the Spanish Main.

The love motif comes off no better. It huffs and puffs as it works the bellows of passion, but the romance is doomed from the start. In this respect, it is not altogether the fault of the film. As the heroine is a respectably married woman, wife and mother of a noble household, you know in advance that the pirate, however handsome, cannot win. Thus, no matter how impassioned his love speeches, no matter how loathsomely the husband is presented, the end is a foregone conclusion. The Hays office will make the decision, and as the picture draws to a close, the heroine justifies Mr. Hays by confessing that a woman is never free—well, maybe for an hour or two, but that's all. A prodigious sigh fills the screen as the color fades reluctantly away. As positive virtues of the film, I can recommend the hero's legs, the heroine's gorgeous red hair, and the magnificent technicolor.

THREE documentary or non-fictional shorts on the local screens deserve mention. The first is a Marine Corps film of the battle of the Mariannas, which as a record of battle ranks with *Memphis Belle*, *Wake Island*, and *The Battle of Tarawa*. Like these others, it imparts a sense of the anguish, urgency, skill, and physical demands of the soldier in battle. It contains some rare battle shots, and at least one moment of pulsating tension as the Americans move up for the final cleanup battle of Saipan.

The Canadian Film Board contributes another of its excellent film editorials that constitute its *World In Action* series. This latest one is called *Inside France*, and like the others, is more expository than documentary. "There has long stood a France speaking with two voices. . . . Of the majority has been the voice which demanded resistance to the end—of the underground, of progressive, democratic France. . . . The other was the voice of Vichy, the voice of a small diehard section of France, a section that hates novelty and daring, that hates the very times in which we

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live." This general tone is buttressed by appropriate scenes, showing the majority fighting, the minority riding to the hounds, the Vichy minority guzzling on wines and fine foods, the majority hiding in the hills and forests, etc. The film is compactly edited and makes its points with a fine regard for the unity of its subject matter. These *World In Action* shorts are distributed through United Artists. If your local theater exhibitor does not show them, persuade him to add them to his program. They will aid considerably in the political education of your community.

The third short subject is the current edition of the *March of Time*, dealing with the question of postwar agricultural problems. *Time* claims that it will be tough for the small farmer after the war to compete with the large industrialized farm holdings. The film shows the advantage of large scale farming in terms of modernized techniques, soil conservation, etc. Soil erosion, says the short, has come about through the one-crop system used by the small unscientific farmer. This may be true to a small extent, but it is largely hogwash. Over 100,000 acres have been completely eroded, and close to 200,000 are eroded to the point of non-arability, because of the floods that have ravaged the country for over seventy-five years—floods and the manhandling of the land immediately after the last war, when no effort was made by the Republican administration to restore the topsoil to lands utilized for wartime planting. The records of the Hoover-Coolidge administrations on the question of flood control are a joke, and it was not until Roosevelt came along that any flood control measures were undertaken in earnest. The Mississippi Valley program and the TVA are but two examples of this. *Time* makes some recognition of the work the Rural Electrical Administration has done in helping the small farmer, but makes no mention of the fight that REA, one of the least known but most progressive of the New Deal agencies, has had in bucking the reactionary power companies. *Time* further implies that only cooperatives for the small farmer can help him—not only in competition with the large farms but also in utilizing his productive resources to the full. Cooperative or collective, or whatever else you choose to call it, the film touches on a movement gaining widespread attention. It is too bad, however, that these *Time* shorts do not hit hard enough, or explore a subject more thoroughly.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC, REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933 of New Masses, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1944.

State of New York) ss.
County of New York)

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lottie Gordon, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of the New Masses and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, New Masses, Inc., 104 E. 9th St., N. Y. C.; Editor, Joseph North, 104 E. 9th St., N. Y. C.; Managing Editor, Virginia Moore Shull, 104 E. 9th St., N. Y. C.; Business Manager, Lottie Gordon, 104 E. 9th St., N. Y. C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member must be given.) New Masses, Inc., 104 E. 9th St., N. Y. C., a membership corporation. Editorial Board: Joseph North, Marjorie DeArmand, Frederick V. Field, Barbara Giles, Herbert Goldfrank, A. B. Magil, Virginia Moore Shull, H. S. Vinocur; Business Manager: Lottie Gordon.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None—a membership corporation.

4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is ..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

LOTTIE GORDON
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1944. HARRY FORMAN
(SEAL) (My commission expires March 9, 1945)

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